FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT MALCOLM X LITTLE

FILE NO. NY 105-8999

BULKY ENCLOSURES

FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT MALCOLM X LITTLE

FILE NO. NY 105-8999

1B1 ENCLOSURE

Duplicate Green Sheet

NY 105-8999-1B1

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/5/93 BY 9965
235,295
67C

Bulky Exhibit - Inventory of Proper Acquired as Evidence
FD-192 (Rev. 12-5-58)

Date 2/3/65

☐ *Check, when submitting semiannual inventory, if no previous correspondence with Bureau.*

Bufile	STATUS	Field Division	File #
100-399321	P.	NY	105-8999-1B1
		OO: NY	105-8999

Title and Character of Case

MALCOLM K. LITTLE
IS - MMI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 9/2/93 BY [redacted] b7C
235,295

Date Property Acquired	Source From Which Property Acquired
SEE BELOW	SEE INDIVIDUAL 1B'S

Location of Property or Bulky Exhibit	Reason for Retention of Property and Efforts Made to Dispose of Same
VAULT	EVIDENCE & INFORMATION - RETAIN

Description of Property or Exhibit and Identity of Agent Submitting Same

SEE BELOW

(1) 2/3/65. 2 mugshot photos & 1 neg of subj. Malcolm Little. See ser 18.
(2) " Agents Notes.
(3) " 1 photo of Malcolm Little. See ser 150.
(4) " Postcard to [redacted] from Malcolm X. b7C
(5) " 11 photos & 2 negs. of Malcolm Little, DESTROYED 12/2/58.
(6) " 1 neg. of Malcolm Little. See ser 552. b7C
(7) " 1 photo of [redacted] Malcolm Little. See serial 599.
(8) " b7D Photos & negs. of [redacted] See serial 611.
(9) " 1 face photo & 1 neg. of Malcolm Little. See serial 830.
(10) " 1 autostat of article in "MIAMI TIMES" of 9/27/58. See serial 985.
(11) " 1photo of Malcolm Little. See se ial 985. b7C
(12) " 1 autostat of letter sent by Malcolm X [redacted] See serial 985.
(13) " 1 neg. & 6 photos of subject, Malcolm Little. See ser. 1389.
(14) " 1 neg. of Malcolm X Little.
(15) " pages 8 & 9 of 7/60 issue of MR. MUHAMMAD SPEAKS. See ser. 1855.
(16) " b7D 1 photo of MalcolmLittle [redacted]
(17) " 1 photo of Malcolm Little.
(18) " 1 photo of Malcolm Little. See serial 2413.
(19) " Flyer advertising a debate between Malcolm X & Bayard Rustin. b7C

NOTE: ALL ofabove transferred from 1A1 thru 1A19 respectively. [redacted]

O 6/23/86 [redacted] b7C

Field File # 1B1 #1,3

b7C [redacted] NEW YORK [redacted]

104

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9-1-93 BY 9805 [redacted] b7C

Date Received 11-10-54
From [redacted] b7C
(Name & address of contributor) b7C

By-Name of SA [redacted]
To Be Returned Yes ( ) No (X)
File Number 105-8999-1A
Description: 1 mug 1 neg

Photos of subject Malcolm Little, ~~found to be same with 1 negative.~~

b7C

1 photo b7C

see ser. 18
(7 photos - Phila)

1 photo 10 other 3/18/59

9 photos Hoover

b7C

b7C

4-750 (Rev. 12-14-88)

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

☒ Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available for release to you.

Section 552		Section 552a
☐ (b)(1)	☐ (b)(7)(A)	☐ (d)(5)
☐ (b)(2)	☐ (b)(7)(B)	☐ (j)(2)
☐ (b)(3)	☐ (b)(7)(C)	☐ (k)(1)
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_____	☐ (b)(7)(E)	☐ (k)(3)
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☐ (b)(4)	☐ (b)(8)	☐ (k)(5)
☐ (b)(5)	☐ (b)(9)	☐ (k)(6)
☐ (b)(6)		☐ (k)(7)

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NY 105-8999-1B1(1) enclosure

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X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

FBI/DOJ

Malcolm Little

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-1-93 BY [redacted] b7C

1B1(1)

105-8999

~~100-39918-1A-1~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-1-93 BY 9903 [redacted] b7C

Date Received 12-3-54
From Selective Service Record 1940 act
(name & address of contributor) [redacted] b7C
By-Name-of-Sa [redacted] b7C
To Be Returned Yes ( ) No ( )
File Number 105-8999-14 + Tr. 15 (2)
Description: Notes of Subject Malcolm Little's SS-1940 Records.
Agents Notes [redacted] b7C

Memo to file

MALCOLM K. LITTLE
105-8999

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 9-1-93 BY 9803 [redacted] b7C

SELECTIVE SERVICE RECORDS - 1940 ACT:

1) REGISTRATION CARD: Malcolm Little; Order No. 12750; Residence: 2460 Seventh Ave., Apt 31, NYC; Born May 19, 1925 at Omaha, Nebraska; Person who will always Know address: Small's Paradise, 135th & Seventh Ave., NYC; Employer: Jimmie's Chicken Shack, 763 St. Nicholas Ave., NYC; Negro, 6' 3", 180 lbs., brown eyes, red hair, light brown complexion, scar on left arm, scar on right leg; Registered 6/1/43; Local Board 59, NYC.

2) Change of address, undated: 805 St. Nicholas Ave., Apt 41, NYC. 1/5/44

4) DSS FORM 40--QUESTIONNAIRE--dtd 7/15/43:
Malcolm Little; states aka Jack Calton.
Residence: 805 St. Nicholas Ave., Apt 41, NYC; Phone ED 4-9565.
Social Security No. 376 16 3427.
Education: 8 years elementary, 3 years high school.
Occupation: Waiter; Employer: James E. Bacon, Jimmy's Chicken Shack, 763 St. Nicholas Ave., NYC, Restaurant.
Occupational Experience: Waiter, New Haven Railroad.
Janitor, Flint AC, (? illegible), Flint, Michigan.
Lansing Oldsmobile, Lansing, Mich.
Car Washer, Oldsmobile Garage, Lansing, Mich.
Single; no dependents.
Classified 1A 7/21/43
Reclassified 4F 12/4/48.

DSS FORM 221--REPORT OF PHYSICAL EXAMINATION--dtd 10/25/43 at Armed Forces Induction Station, NYC:
3) Found Mentally disqualified for military service by reason of: PSYCHOPATHIC PERSONALITY INADEQUATE-SEXUAL PERVERSION--PSYCHIATRIC REJECTION.

Change of address, undated: 660 St. Nicholas Ave., #62, NYC.

5) Change of address, dtd 1/5/44 805 St. Nicholas Ave., #23, b7C

SE[redacted]
12/3/54

to 1B1(2)

105-8999

Date Received 5/19/53
From Philadelphia Office per 100
(name & address of contributor)

b7C

By-Name of SA [redacted]
To be Returned Yes ( ) No (X)
File Number 105-8999-4-3 to 1B1(-3) [redacted]
Description:

b7C

1 photo of subject, Malcolm Little
Sec. 150.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9-1-93 BY [redacted]

b7C

4-750 (Rev. 12-14-88)

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Section 552		Section 552a
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☐ (b)(2)	☐ (b)(7)(B)	☐ (j)(2)
☐ (b)(3)	☐ (b)(7)(C)	☐ (k)(1)
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☐ (b)(5)	☐ (b)(9)	☐ (k)(6)
☐ (b)(6)		☐ (k)(7)

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X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
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FBI/DOJ

Date Received 11/15/56

From Trail Coverage

[redacted]

[redacted]

By [redacted]

To

Description: Postcard to [redacted] b7C
from Malcolm X

File No: ~~105-8999~~ tr. 105-1(4) [redacted] b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9-1-99 BY 9960 [redacted] b7C

CGO-39

MIDWAY AIRPORT

Chicago's Midway Airport is one of the largest and best equipped fields in the world.

Color photo by Wm. H. Nawodylo, Chicago

JAN 31
2 AM
1956
LL

Just out of the Sky
into the Living Waters
of the Eternal Mountain.
Greetings to all the
Believers there. Hope many
strive to enter the Circle
for the 2nd.
Bro Malcolm X

PUBLISHED BY W. D. POST CORP.
350 NO CLARK STREET, CHICAGO 10, ILLINOIS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-1-93 [redacted]

address

[redacted]

b7C

b7C

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
THIS SLIP FROM EXHIBIT
105-[illegible]

N4.105-8999-1B1(4)

b7C

N.1 105-7[illegible]

b7C 1B.18

105-8999 [redacted]

~~100-5545-14~~-21

FILE NO. .....

DATE RECEIVED [redacted] b2

b7D

FROM [redacted]

(NAME OF CONTRIBUTOR)

..... b7C

(ADDRESS OF CONTRIBUTOR)

[redacted]

BY [redacted]

(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)

TO BE RETURNED YES ( )
NO (X)

b1D

DISPOSITION: [redacted]

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/2/98 BY [redacted]

b7C

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

b7C

Recovered

Photo image.
original sent
to Bureau

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b7C

4-750 (Rev. 12-14-88)

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☐ (b)(3)	☒ (b)(7)(C)	☐ (k)(1)
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☐ (b)(5)	☐ (b)(9)	☐ (k)(6)
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NY 105-8999-1B1(8) enclosure

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X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
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FBI/DOJ

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9:30 a.m
8:30 p.m.
7:00 p.m
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Muhammad's Harlem Minister Organizing Fla. Moslems

Messenger Elijah Muhammad, spiritual leader of America's fastest - growing group of young Moslem converts, author of the Courier's controversial column "Mr. Mohammad Speaks", and considered even by many non-Moslems to be the most fearless, uncompromising, outspoken leader ever to appear among the Negroes of America, has sent his capable New York minister, Malcolm X, to represent him and organize his many followers here in Florida.

Just in from a successful tour of Georgia, 33year-old Malcolm X is a 6'3", 185 pound ball of "perpetual energy" who spends 24 hours daily spreading Muhammad's "divine messages" among the "restless" Negroes of America, and organizing these new converts into well-disciplined, fearless "warriors of Allah."

In a fearless display of unity in the face of police brutality Muhammad's New York Moslems have twice captured the "international spotlight" by marching upon the police precinct and forcing the release of members who have been "unjustly detained." The influence of New York Moslems wielded in the Harlem Community makes them one of its most feared yet respected groups.

Interviewed in the M[illegible] Carver Motel, Malcolm X told the Miami Times that most Negro leaders and the general public need a better understanding of Mr. Muhammad's Teachings and Aims. He said: "Messenger Muhammad insists that we should all forget our religious, political and fraternal differences, and come together as Negroes to try and find a common ground upon which we can all agree to unite."

During his stay in Miami, Mr. X will conduct lectures at the Masonic Hall, 941 NW 3rd ave. (near 10th st.) beginning Sunday, Sept. 28 at 8 p.m. The entire public is invited.

An eloquent speaker and teacher of the Ancient History and the cultural accomplishments of the Black man, Malcolm X, in expressing a sincere desire to create a better understanding and unity between Negro Christians and Moslems, is available for free lectures before all church, fraternal, civic or political groups. He may be reached by phoning the Miami Carver Hotel at FR 1-1633.

MARTIN MEMORIAL AME

Richmond Heights
Rev. Albert Jones, pastor

Wilma M. Harris, reporter

Well our dreams are at last becoming a reality. Beginning with Sunday School we worshipped for the first time in the first unit of our new church. Hearts were high and the Holy Spirit was overly present.

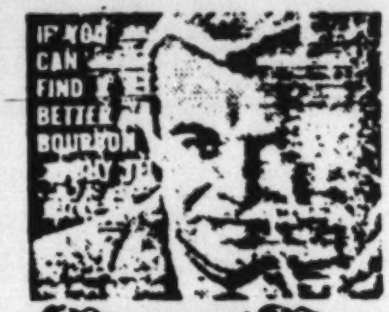
Our pastor was superlative as he delivered the morning message from the 61st Psalm 3 and 4 verse. Bamy Godilieve Lucette Rahming was also baptised at this service.

WE WERE THERE

At four o'clock the auditorium was filled to capacity for the services before the laying of the cornerstone. All the dignitaries of the Methodist family were there with greeting and commendations from their various posts. The Rt. Rev. Sherman L. Green, bishop of the 11th Episcopal district was there with wonderful words of inspiration. The Rev. F. S. Allen, presiding elder of the North Miami district delivered the sermon for the occasion, taken from the third chapter of Exodus, 2nd verse. Rev. W. S. Coffey of the Miami District, Rev. A. P. Portell of the West Jacksonville District and many others the summons to mention.

Donations received for the day totaled $1,138.00.

The Pride of Richmond Hghts Chapter No. [illegible] of the Free and Accepted Mason rendered the ritual for the laying of the cornerstone. Jacob Dean is worshipful master.



Drive Carefully

AT LAST
Available To Everyone

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/4/93 BY [illegible]

12/4 [redacted] b7C

b7C [redacted] 12/11

see see 105

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/2/93 BY 9803 [redacted]

b7C

FILE NUMBER 105-8999-1011

Date Received 9/30/58

From [redacted]

(name & address of contributor)

By-name of SA [redacted]

To Be Returned.... Yes ( ) No (✓)

Description:

1 photo of Malcolm Little
see JK rept 10/17/58.

b7C
b7D

b7C

SEARCHED..... INDEXED
SERIALIZED..... FILED
DEC 8 1959
FBI - NEW [redacted]

b7C

to
1B, (11) [redacted] b7C

[redacted] [redacted]

NY 105-8999-1B1(11)

Malcolm Little

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/2/93 BY 8903 [redacted]

b1c

to 1B1 (11)

NN 105-8999-1A11
JK 100-118

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/2/93 BY [redacted]

b7C [redacted]

12/4 b7C

See 98 5

FILE NUMBER 105-8999-1415
Date Received 9-30-58
From [redacted] b7C b7D
(name & address of contributor)
By-name of SA [redacted] b7C
To Be Returned.... Yes ( ) No (✓)
Description:
1 Autostat of letter sent by Malcolm X [redacted] (See JK rept 10/17/58)
b7C

Ju 1B, (12) [redacted] b7C

SEARCHED ..... INDEXED .....
SERIALIZED ..... FILED .....
OCT 2 - 1958
FBI - NEW YORK

b7C

4-750 (Rev. 12-14-88)

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X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
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FBI/DOJ

RESPECT OUR WOMEN; WARNS MUHAMMAD

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/2/93 BY [redacted]
b7C

One cannot help but be impressed by the realistic approach to the problems that face the Negro in America today, by Mr. Elijah Muhammad. He is not a religious dreamer or cult leader but is a man who applies sound reasoning in his thinking and is not moved by emotion. Some of his teachings may strike the average individual as strange and unusual but he always stands ready to answer his critics with facts to support his contentions.

The Moslems are cautioned ~~to be careful~~ of the food they eat and the way they dress. Mr Elijah Muhammad, for example, will never eat outside his home, except in a Moslem-owned restaurant. His followers never touch pork, ham, bacon, or lard or "any other filth forbidden by Allah." Many only eat one meal a day.

The Moslems drink no intoxicants; they do not even smoke. Neither do they do any dancing, dating or night clubbing. They wear only conservative garb.

Respect for Negro women is another cardinal belief of the group. Mr. Muhammad teaches that no race can be great that does not respect its women. He says they must be put on the highest pinnacle and treated like Queen Mothers of civilization, that they are.

The morals of the Moslems are particularly strengthened by the teachings of their leader. They do not tolerate lying or stealing by their members. Through strict adherance to their moral concept adultery and fornication have been wiped out, among Moslems.

These are some of the ideas that form the basis of the behavior pattern of these people and their practical and realistic religious concept. That it is taking root is evidenced by the fantastic number of Negroes joining the movement in America.

Malcolm X, Mr Muhammad's New York minister, will speak in ~~XXXXX~~ Jacksonville, _____(date)_____(time)_____(place). The entire public is invited.

105-8999-1B1(12)

b7C [redacted] 8/28

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/2/93 BY 9803 [redacted]

File in 1389

FILE NUMBER 105-8999 ~~[illegible]~~ b1 (13)
Date Received 8/17/59
From CUFO
(name & address of contributor)
By-name of SA. [redacted] b7C
To Be Returned .... Yes (X) No ( )
Description:
1 neg + 6 photos of subject, Malcolm Little

[redacted] b7C

1 photo & LHs 8/14/62 [redacted] b7C

SEARCHED ___ INDEXED ___
SERIALIZED ___ FILED ___
FBI - NEW YORK

[redacted] b7C

LITTLE, MALCOLM.
Also: MALIK EL-SHABAZZ

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/2/93 BY [redacted] b7C

Ty 105-8999-1C1(18)

------ENTER AND RETURN 105-8999-14
FILE NUMBER ----------
Date Received ----- Unknown
From ---------- Unknown
---------- 101(14)
(Name & address of Contributor)
By-name of SA---------- Unknown
To Be Returned---- Yes ( ) No (✓)
Description:

One negative malcolm X Little

SEARCHED [redacted] INDEXED [redacted]
SERIALIZED [redacted] FILED [redacted]
SEP 20 1959
FBI - NEW YORK
[redacted]

b7c

Submitted by SA [redacted]
as per Supv [redacted]

b7c

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/2/93 BY 9803 [redacted]
Contents of enclosure are
also unclassified.

b7c

4-750 (Rev. 12-14-88)

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☐ (b)(5)	☐ (b)(9)	☐ (k)(6)
☐ (b)(6)		☐ (k)(7)

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1 Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): Exhibit is the same as NY105-8999-1B1(6)

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File Number 105-8999 ~~HQ 15~~

Date Received [redacted]

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Description:

Pages 8 & 9 of 2/60 issue "Mr. Muhammad Speaks"

See serial 1855

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JUN 1 3 1960
FBI - NEW YORK

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Muslims Score At Queens Co

Students And Teachers Hear Muslim Demand For Land

New York Minister Malcolm X continued his series of successful presentations of the teachings of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad in Boston, St. Louis and New York, during the past few weeks.

On Tuesday, May 24th, Malcolm X spoke at the Boston Theological Seminary in Boston, Mass. The prior week Malcolm X was heard by several hundred St. Louis Negroes who jammed Carpenter's Hall, where Malcolm X said, "America must give Negroes full freedom or face disaster." Malcolm went on to say that complete and total separation resulting in the Negro having a few states of his own is the only solution to the so-called Negro problem.

Upwards of two hundred students in room one hundred of the Remsen Building at New York's Queen's College last month to hear Minister Malcolm X, head of Muhammad Temple of Islam Number Seven, defend the doctrine of Islam as taught by the Honorable Elijah Muhammad.

The students gathered at the invitation of the Queen's College Chapter of the NAACP and heard Minister Malcolm say, "the American black man faces a unique situation because of his unique position in America. This is why so many American black men are turning to Islam and also why Islam must be presented to them in a form peculiar to the circumstances they face. This causes many people to say we are not teaching the orthodox form of Islam," Minister Malcolm continued, "This is not true. We are teaching the true Islamic faith but we are making it applicable to the peculiar conditions faced by the American black man."

Asked to explain Mr. Muhammad's twelve point program for the salvation of the American Negro, Minister Malcolm said, "our central teaching as far as the social action of the American black man is concerned is that he should be separated from his slave-masters. As the Bible says, 'let every man be under his own vine and fig tree.' Mr. Muhammad teaches that the American black man, like the children of Israel, are strangers, not in a land of their own."

"Much of the unrest now current would be eliminated," Minister Malcolm said, "if the request of Mr. Muhammad were granted. Once the slave is educated he wants to be equal with his master, to share his master's property. If the slave is as well educated as the master than the slave will no longer be content to serve. That is the core of the racial unrest in America today. That is why we must be separated and allowed to become a people self sufficient and self supporting."

The appearance of Minister Malcolm was scheduled to last for fifty-five minutes but the interest was such that scores of students remained out of classes to continue discussions with Minister Malcolm for an hour past the stated deadline.

The following is a complete transcript of Minister Malcolm's Queens College speech:

We thank you for inviting us here today to present our views on this topic: "The Negro's Position in the recent American Society." But, to understand our views you must first know something about our religion, Islam.

Allah, the Supreme Being—The Creator of the Universe, whom many of you call God or Jehovah, is known to the Muslims by the name ALLAH. Since the Muslims believe all prophets came from that ONE GOD and therefore all taught one and the same religion, rightly called ISLAM, which means the complete submission and obedience to ALLAH.

One who practices this Divine Obedience is called a Muslim (commonly known, spelled, and referred to here in the West as Moslem).

600 Million Muslims

There are over 600 million Muslims on this earth, predominantly in Africa and Asia, and we here in America under the Divine Guidance of Mr. Elijah Muhammad are an integral part of the vast World of Islam that stretches from the China Seas to the Sunny shores of West Africa.

A unique situation faces the black man here in America because of his unique condition, thus his acceptance of Islam and into Islam affects him uniquely . . . differently than all other converts to Islam.

Mr. Elijah Muhammad is our Divine Leader and Teacher here in America. He believes in and obeys God 100 per cent and is teaching and working among us to fulfill God's Divine Purpose.

God's Purpose

What is this purpose? God's purpose today (just as it was in biblical days) is the complete SEPARATION of the so-called Negroes from their slave master . . . as the bible says concerning today: "Let every man be under his own vine and fig tree."

The best biblical example of this is the enslavement of the Hebrews in the land of Egypt under Pharoah . . . a free man and some slaves who were "strangers in a land not their own," and how Jehovah chose Moses to SEPARATE them from their slave master.

Since the slave master today declares his "former" slaves are free, Mr. Muhammad says that for the betterment of our future and that of our former slave master God has declared we also must be SEPARATED.

To many of you here in this college auditorium, this sounds ridiculous; to some it even sounds insane. But 20 million black people here in America now number a nation in their own right. Do you believe a nation WITHIN another nation can be successful? Repeat-

Muslim Student From Turkey Embraces Joseph X At Queens College.

Intent Muslims Listen

Malcolm X 1

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ally when they both have equal education?

Once the slave has his master's education, the slave wants to be like his master, wants to share his master's property, and wants to exercise the same privileges as his master.

This is the CORE of America's troubles today; and there will be no peace for America as long as 20 million so-called Negroes are here BEGGING for the equal rights which America knows she will never grant us.

Cause of Unrest

Even the limited education America has granted her ex-slaves has already produced great unrest . . . and Almighty God says the only way for America to ever have peace in for us to be SEPARATED from her . . . and therefore Mr. Muhammad teaches us that we must have some land of our own.

If we receive equal education, how long do you expect us to remain your passive servants, or "second-class" citizens? There is no such thing as "second-class" citizens. We are FULL CITIZENS or we are not citizens at all!

When you teach a man the science of government he wants an equal part (or position) in that government . . . or else he wants to be a master in that government himself. He demands equality with his master.

We must own equal territory to serve you. The only way you can continue to rule us is with a superior knowledge, or by continuing to hold equal education from our people.

Complete Separation

America has not given us equal education, but she has given us enough to make us want more . . . and to make us demand equality of opportunity . . . which is causing great unrest.

Thus, the only SOLUTION is complete SEPARATION!

You believe in the fulfillment of biblical prophesy, that a great DAY OF SEPARATION is coming, and that the knowledge of truth will cause this SEPARATION. We are living at that time today!

You are not common people here in this college audience. You are students, scholars, professors; you have education enough to weigh current events as well as history against the truth of what Mr. Muhammad is teaching.

For over 300 years our parents served years. During slavery our parents didn't ask your parents for civil rights. Our parents did not have enough education to do so.

They were taught by their educated white masters that they were born inferiors . . . born to serve the whites . . . "superior" whites who restricted them without citizenship even after the so-called emancipation proclamation.

Today Mr. Muhammad sees nothing but the DESTRUCTION of both races if they stay together. INTEGRATION will cause DISINTEGRATION of both.

A child stays within the mother until the time of birth. When the time of birth arrives, the child must be SEPARATED, or it will DESTROY its mother and itself. The mother can't carry that child after its time.

The child wants to be free; it wants for a world of its own. If the mother will not give it up NATURALLY, the doctors must forcibly take it from her . . . which sometimes causes her death.

If she can get it free naturally and easily, so much the better . . . if not, it must be TAKEN.

Twenty million so-called Negroes in America today number a Nation WITHIN a nation and are crying for FREEDOM. We must be freed. We must be born. We must be SEPARATED . . . or cause the DESTRUCTION of both! ISLAMIC RUBIN

SEPARATION is the only solution today. Is this insane? Is this so ridiculous?

During slavery our parents would have been put to death for advocating integration with the white man . . . and now that God has declared this is the DAY OF SEPARATION, the white man wants (or at least is TALKING about) integration with his ex-slave.

America can solve her present problems and avoid a worse crisis by setting up some SEPARATE STATES for us right here in America.

Remember the Hebrews in biblical Egypt . . . after their 400 years of bondage to Pharaoh. God had to fulfill his promise to them that he had made through Abraham . . . but their biblical slave master would not let them go.

Thus it cost the slave master his own freedom, his country, and his life for opposing God's Plan to SEPARATE His people from their slave master and set them in a land of their own.

God would not have DESTROYED the slave master if he would have listened . . . but just as America is today, the biblical slave master (Pharaoh) was also too rich, too strong, and too proud to listen to Moses . . . whom they contemptuously looked upon only as an inarticulate ex-slave.

Mr. Muhammad is opposed today, both by his own people and by whites, simply because he advocates complete FREEDOM, JUSTICE and EQUALITY for America's 20 million so-called Negroes.

America is a free nation. Why should America oppose Mr. Muhammad for teaching FREEDOM for her 20 million so-called Negroes?

He is not asking for an "integrated society" which would only lead to the dreaded INTERMARRIAGE with America's white sons and daughters . . . he is demanding complete SEPARATION where we will have complete FREEDOM, JUSTICE and EQUALITY in a land of our own.

And, if God is with Mr. Muhammad today to SEPARATE us and put us in a land wherein we can form our own nation equal with other civilized nations . . . would you want God to DESTROY your country like he did biblical Egypt . . . for opposing HIS DIVINE PLAN?

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File Number 105-8999 - Holds

Date Received 4/6/61

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To be returned Yes ( ) No (✓)

Description:

To 1 (1) [redacted] 67C

1 photo to WFO, 6/6/61 [redacted] 67C

1 photo to Richmond [redacted] 62 67D

[redacted] 7/17/61 67C

1 photo to Baltimore, 7/1/62 [redacted] 67C

2 photo to LA 5/8/62 [redacted] 67C

1 photo of Malcolm Little

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dtd 4/3/61.

1 To Bureau 7/10/62

see 105-7409

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APR 20 1961

FBI — NEW YORK

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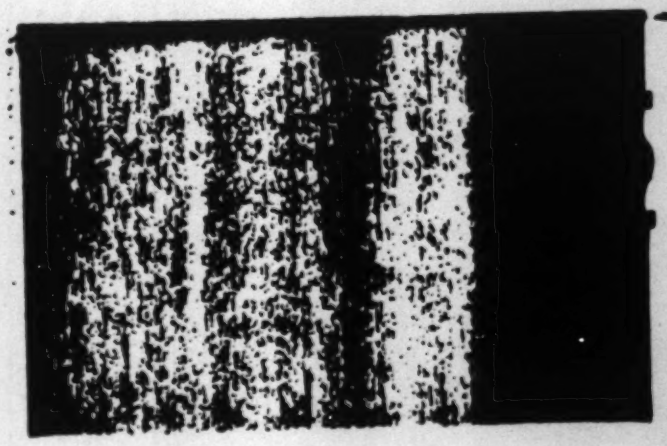

NY 105-8999-1B1(6)

MALCOLM X (LITTLE)

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Description:

Photo of Malcolm Little

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2. Malcolm Little
(about 1958)

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Date Received [redacted] b2 b7D

From [redacted]
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By SA [redacted]
(Name of Special Agent)

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Description:

Flyer advertising a debate between Malcolm X & Bayard Rustin

"Separation or Integration"

Tues. 1/23/62

Community Church

40 E. 35th St.

N.Y.C.

Spons. by LIBERATION MAGAZINE & WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE

Rm. 5 & 5

5 Beekman St., N.Y.C

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"Separation or Integration"

a debate between

Malcolm X and Bayard Rustin

Black Muslim leader — *Integrationist leader*

TUESDAY, JANUARY 23 at 8:15 P.M.

The Rev. DONALD HARRINGTON, Moderator

COMMUNITY CHURCH
40 East 35th Street
New York City

Contribution $1.00

Sponsored by LIBERATION MAGAZINE
and WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE
5 Beekman Street (room 825)
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FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT MALCOLM X LITTLE

FILE NO. NY 105-8999

1B2 ENCLOSURE

Duplicate Green Sheet

NY 105-8999-1B2

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235,295

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192 (Rev. 12-5-58)

Date 2/3/65

☐ *Check, when submitting semiannual inventory, if no previous correspondence with Bureau.*

Bufile	STATUS	Field Division	File #
100-399321	P.	NY	105-8999-1B2
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Title and Character of Case

MALCOLM K. LITTLE
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Date Property Acquired	Source From Which Property Acquired
SEE BELOW	SEE INDIVIDUAL 1B'S

Location of Property or Bulky Exhibit	Reason for Retention of Property and Efforts Made to Dispose of Same
VAULT	EVIDENCE & INFORMATION - RETAIN

Description of Property or Exhibit and Identity of Agent Submitting Same

SEE BELOW

(1) 2/3/65. Dialogue Magazine 5/62 edition Vol II #3 containing article "Separation or Intergration, A Debate" Malcolm X, "Muslim Spolesman" vs James Farmer, Core Director.

(2) " 1 copy of article in 5/63 Playboy. See ser 3525.

(3) " Text of telgrram from Malcolm to Elijiah Mohammed, 3/11/64.

(4) " Copy of statement to press by Malcolm X on 3/8/64.

(5) " Photographs taken at Malcolm X press conference held on 3/12/64 at Park Sheraton Hotel,NYC. See ser 4255.

(6) " 5 photos and 1 neg. of subject [redacted]

(7) " b7D [redacted] encl. to above [redacted] a press release from Malcolm X in Juddo, Saudia Arabia, dtd 4/20/64. (Original in 100-152759-1B). See serial 4612.

NOTE: ALL of above transferred from 1A20 thru 1A26 respectively.

(8) 2/3/65. [redacted]

(9) " b7D 3 pg. ltr. headed "THE MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC." dtd 4/20/64.

(10) " 1 pg. ltr. headed "THE MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC." dtd 5/11/64.

(11) " b7D [redacted]

(12) " Xerox copy of a [redacted]
b7D

NOTE: 1B2(8) thru (12) rec'd [redacted] by SA [redacted] SEE SE R. 5241.
b7D b7C b7C

(13) 2/3/65. Tape of Malcolm's X appearance on the LES CRANE SHOW on WABC-TV Channel 7 on 12/28/64. See serial 5392. Rec'd 1/11/65 by SA [redacted] b7C [redacted]

(14) 2/18/65. Leaflet announcing a speech by MALCOLM X, 1/31/65. b7C
Rec'd 1/29/65 by SA [redacted] b7C [redacted]

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By (name of SA)

To be returned - - Yes ( ) No (X)

Description:

Dialogue Magazine 5/62 Editorial Vol II No. 3

containing article "Separation or Integration: a debate"

Malcolm X "Muslim Spokesman"

vs

James Farmer, CORE director

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Dialogue

May 1962.

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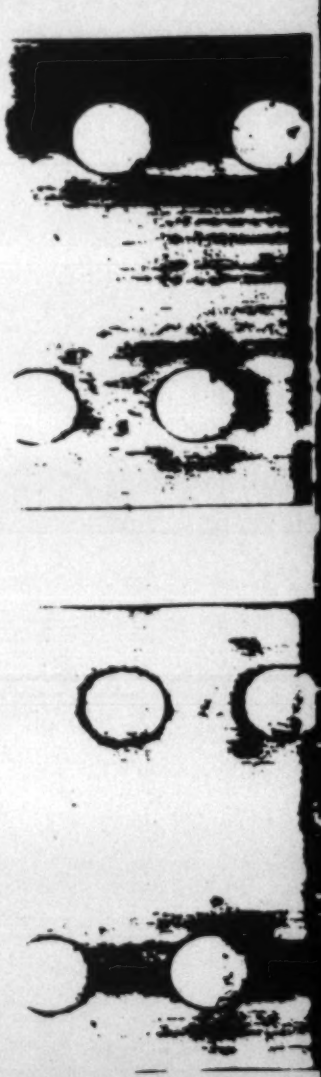

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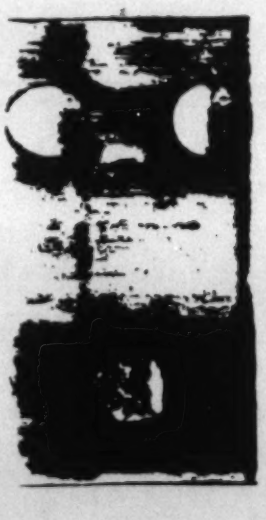
SEPARATION OR INTEGRATION



MALCOLM X

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful, to whom all praise is due whom we forever thank for giving America's 20 million so-called Negroes the most honorable Elijah Muhammad as our leader and our teacher and our guide.

I would point out at the beginning that I wasn't born Malcolm Little. Little is the name of the slave master who owned one of my grandparents during slavery, a white man, and the name Little was handed down to my grandfather, to my father and on to me. But after hearing the teachings of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad and realizing that Little is an English name, and I'm not an Englishman, I gave the Englishman back his name, and since my own had been stripped from me, hidden from me, and I don't know it, I use X; and someday, as we are taught by the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, every black man, woman and child in America will get back the same name, the same language, and the same culture that he had before he was kidnaped and brought to this country and stripped of these things.

I would like to point out in a recent column by James Reston on the editorial page of the New York Times, December 15, 1961, writing from London, Mr. Reston, after interviewing several leading European statesmen, pointed out that the people of Europe, or the statesmen in Europe, don't feel that America or Europe have anything to worry about in Russia.; that the people in Europe foresee the time when Russia, Europe, and America will have to unite together to ward off the threat of China and the non-white world. And if this same statement was made by a Muslim, or by the honorable Elijah Muhammad, it would be classified as racist; but Reston who is one of the leading correspondents in this country and writing for one of the most respected newspapers, points out that the holocaust that the West is facing is not something from Russia, but threats of the combined forces of the dark world against the white world.

Why do I mention this? Primarily because the most crucial problem facing the white world today is the race problem. And the most crucial problem facing white America today is the race problem. Mr. Farmer pointed out beautifully and quoted one writer actually as saying that the holocaust that America is facing is primarily still based upon race. This doesn't mean that when people point these things out that they are racist; this means that they are facing the facts of life that we are confronted with today. And one need only to look at the world troubles in its international context, national context, or local context, and one will always see the race problem right there, a problem that it is almost impossible to duck around.

It so happens that you and I were born at a time of great change, when changes are taking place. And if we can't react intelligently to these changes, then we are going to be destroyed. When you look into the United Nations set-up, the way it is, we see that there is a change of power taking place, a change of position, a change of influence, a change of control. Wherein, in the past, white people used to exercise unlimited control and authority over dark mankind, today they are losing their ability to dictate unilateral terms to dark mankind. Whereas, yesterday dark nations had no voice in their own affairs today, the voice that they exercise in their own affairs is increasing, which means in essence that the voice of the white man or the white world is becoming more quiet every day, and the voice of the non-white world is becoming more loud every day. These are the facts of life and these are the changes that you and I, this generation, have to face up to on an international level, a national level, or a local level before we can get a solution to the problems that confront not only the white man, but problems that confront also the black man, or the non-white man.

When we look at the United Nations and see how these dark nations get their independence—they can out-vote the western block or what is known as the white world—and to the point where up until last year the U. N. was controlled by the white powers, or Western powers, mainly Christian powers, and the secretaryship used to be in the hands of a white European Christian; but now when we look at the general structure of the United Nations we see a man from Asia, from Burma, who is occupying the position of Secretary, who is a Buddhist, by the way, and we find the man who is occupying the seat of President is a Moslem from Africa, namely Tunisia. Just in recent times all of these changes are taking place, and the white man has got to be able to face up to them, and the black man has to be able to face

(Continued on Page 14)

JAMES FARMER

When the Freedom Riders left from Montgomery, Alabama, to ride into the conscience of America and into Jackson, Mississippi, there were many persons who said to us, "Don't go into Mississippi, go anyplace you like, go to the Union of South Africa, but stay out of Mississippi." They said, "What you found in Alabama will be nothing compared to what you will meet in Mississippi. I remember being told a story by one minister who urged us not to go. He said, "Once upon a time there was a Negro who had lived in Mississippi, lived for a long time running from county to county. Finally he left the state, and left it pretty fast, as Dick Gregory would put it, not by Greyhound, but by bloodhound, and he went to Illinois to live, in Chicago. And unable to find a job there, after several weeks of walking the street unemployed, he sat down and asked God what he should do. God said, "Go back to Mississippi." He said, "Lord you surely don't mean it, you're jesting. You don't mean for me to go back to Mississippi. There is segregation there!" The Lord said, "Go back to Mississippi." The man looked up and said, "Very well, Lord, if you insist, I will do it, I will go. But will you go with me?" The Lord said "As far as Cincinnati."

The Freedom Riders felt that they should go all the way because there is something wrong with our nation and we wanted to try to set it right. As one of the nation's scholars wrote at the turn of the century, "The problem of the twentieth century will be the problem of the color-line, of the relations between the lighter and the darker peoples of the earth, Asia and Africa, in America, and in the islands of the sea." What prophetic words, indeed. We have seen the struggle for freedom all over the world. We have seen it in Asia; we have seen it in the island of the sea; we have seen it in Africa, and we are seeing it in America now. I think the racist theories of Count DeGobineu, Lothrup Stoddard and the others have set the pattern for a racism that exists within our country. There are theories that are held today, not only by those men and their followers and successors, but by Ross Barnett, John Patterson devotees and followers of the Klan and the White Citizens Councils, and Lincoln Rockwell of the American Nazi Party.

These vicious racist theories hold that Negroes are inferior and whites are superior innately. Ordained by God, so to speak. No more vicious theory has existed in the history of mankind. I would suggest to you that no theory has provided as much human misery throughout the centuries as the theory of races—The theories that say some people are innately inferior and that others are innately superior. Although we have some of those theories in our country, we also have a creed of freedom and of democracy. As Pearl Buck put it, "Many Americans suffer from a split personality. One side of that personality is believing in democracy and fredom, as much as it is possible for a man so to believe. The other side of this personality is refusing, just as doggedly, to practice that democracy and that freedom, in which he believes." That was the split personality. Gunnar Myrdal, in his book, **The American Dilemma**, indicated that this was basically a moral problem, and that we have this credo which Americans hold to, of freedom, and democracy, and equality, but still we refuse to practice it. Gunnar Myrdal indicated that this is sorely troubling the American conscience.

All of us are a part of this system, all a part of it. We have all developed certain prejudices. I have mine, you have yours. It seems to me that it is extremely dangerous when any individual claims to be without prejudice, when he really does have it. I'm prejudiced against women drivers. I think they are a menace to civilization, and the sooner they are removed from the highways, the safer we will all be, but I know that's nothing but a prejudice. I have seen women drivers who are better drivers than I am, but does that destroy my prejudice? No. What I do then, is to separate her from the group of women drivers and say, "Why she is an exception." Or maybe I say she is driving very well because she feels guilty. She knows that other women in the past have had accidents, and so she drives cautiously.

I remember several years ago when I was a youth, attending a church youth conference, and a young fellow from Mississippi and I became very good friends. The last day of the conference as we walked along the road he put his arm on my shoulder and said, "Jim, I have no race prejudice." "No," said I, "Absolutely not," said he. I raised my eyebrows. "As a matter of fact," he went on, "I was thirteen years old before I knew I was any better

(Continued on Page 14)

up to them. Before we can get our problem solved, on an international level, a national level, as well as on the local level

In terms of black and white, what this means is that the unlimited power and prestige of the white world is decreasing, while the power and prestige of the non-white world is increasing. And just as our African and Asian brothers wanted to have their own land, wanted to have their own country, wanted to exercise control over themselves and govern themselves—they didn't want to be governed by whites or Europeans or outsiders, they wanted control over something among the black masses here in America. I think it would be mighty naive on the part of the white man to see dark mankind all over the world stretching out to get a country of his own, a land of his own, an industry of his own, a society of his own, even a flag of his own, it would be mighty naive on the part of the white man to think that same feeling that is sweeping through the dark world is not going to leap 9000 miles across the ocean and come into the black people here in this country, who have been begging you for 400 years for something that they have yet to get.

In the areas of Asia and Africa where the whites gave freedom to the non-whites a transition took place, of friendliness and hospitality. In the areas where the non-whites had to exercise violence, today there is hostility between them and the white man. In this, we learn that the only way to solve a problem that is unjust, if you are wrong, is to take immediate action to correct it. But when the people against whom these actions have been directed have to take matters in their own hands, this creates hostility, and lack of friendliness and good relations between the two.

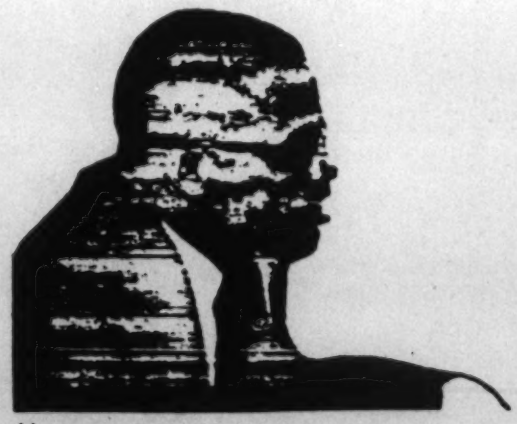
An Era of Great Change

I emphasize these things to point up the fact that we are living in an era of great change, when dark mankind wants freedom, justice, and equality. It is not a case of wanting integration or separation, it is a case of wanting freedom, justice, and equality.

Now if certain groups think that through integration they are going to get freedom, justice, equality and human dignity, then well and good, we will go along with the integrationists. But if integration is not going to return human dignity to dark mankind, then integration is not the solution to the problem. And oft times we make the mistake of confusing the objective with the means by which the objective is to be obtained. It is not integration that Negroes in America want, it is human dignity. They want to be recognized as human beings. And if integration is going to bring us recognition as human beings, then we will integrate. But if integration is not going to bring us recognition as human beings, then integration "out the window," and we have to find another means or method and try that to get our objectives reached.

The same hand that has been writing on the wall in Africa and Asia is also writing on the wall right here in America. The same rebellion, the same impatience, the same anger that exists in the hearts of the dark people in Africa and Asia is existing in the hearts and minds of 20 million black people in this country who have been just as thoroughly colonized as the people in Africa and Asia. Only the black man in America has been colonized mentally, his mind has been destroyed. And today, even though he goes to college, he comes out and still doesn't even know he is a black man; he is ashamed of what he is, because his culture has been destroyed, his identity has been destroyed; he has been made to hate his black skin, he has been made to hate the texture of his hair, he has been made to hate the features that God gave him. Because the honorable Elijah Muhammad is coming along today and teaching us the truth about black people to make us love ourselves instead of realizing that it is you who taught us to hate ourselves and our own kind, you accuse the honorable Elijah Muhammad of being a hate teacher and accuse him of being a racist. He is only trying to undo the white supremacy that you have indoctrinated the entire world with.

MUSLIM MINISTER MALCOLM X



I might point out that it makes America look ridiculous to stand up in world conferences and refer to herself as the leader of the free world. Here is a country, Uncle Sam, standing up and pointing a finger at the Portuguese, and at the French, and at other colonizers, and there are 20 million black people in this country who are still confined to second-class citizenship, 20 million black people in this country who are still segregated and Jim-Crowed, as my friend, Dr. Farmer has already pointed out. And despite the fact that 20 million black people here yet don't have freedom, justice and equality, Adlai Stevenson has the nerve enough to stand up in the United Nations and point the finger at South Africa, and at Portugal and at some of these other countries. All we say is that South Africa preaches what it practices and practices what it preaches; America preaches one thing and practices another. And we don't want to integrate with hypocrites who preach one thing and practice another.

The good point in all of this is that there is an awakening going on among whites in America today, and this awakening is manifested in this way: two years ago you didn't know that there were black people in this country who didn't want to integrate with you; two years ago the white public had been brainwashed into thinking that every black man in this country wanted to force his way into your community, force his way into your schools, or force his way into your factories; two years ago you thought that all you would have to do is give us a little token integration and the race problem would be solved. Why? Because the people in the black community who didn't want integration were never given a voice, were never given a platform, were never given an opportunity to shout out the fact that integration would never solve the problem. And it has only been during the past year that the white public has begun to realize that the problem will never be solved unless a solution is devised acceptable to the black masses, as well as the black bourgeoisie—the upper class or middle class Negro. And when the whites began to realize that these integration-minded Negroes were in the minority, rather than in the majority, then they began to offer an open forum and give those who want separation an opportunity to speak their mind too.

Middle-class Settles for Integration

We who are black in the black belt, or black community, or black neighborhood can easily see that our people who settle for integration are usually the middle-class so-called Negroes, who are in the minority. Why? Because they have confidence in the white man; they have absolute confidence that you will change. They believe that they can change you, they believe that there is still hope in the American dream. But what to them is an American dream to us is an American nightmare, and we don't think that it is possible for the American white man in sincerity to take the action necessary to correct the unjust conditions that 20 million black people here are made to suffer morning, noon, and night. And because we don't have any hope or confidence or faith in the American white man's ability to bring about a change in the injustices that exist, instead of asking or seeking to integrate into the American society we want to face the facts of the problem the way they are, and separate ourselves. And in separating ourselves this doesn't mean that we are anti-white or anti-American, or anti-anything. We feel, that if integration all these years hasn't solved the problem yet, then we want to try something new, something different and something that is in accord with the conditions as they actually exist.

The honorable Elijah Muhammad teaches us that there are over 725 million Moslems or Muslims on this earth. I use both words interchangeably. I use the word Moslem for those who can't undergo the change, and I use the word Muslim for those who can. He teaches us that the world of Islam stretches from the China Seas to the shores of West Africa and that the 20 million black people in this country are the lost-found members of the nation of Islam. He teaches us that before we were kidnaped by your grandfathers and brought to this country and put in chains, our religion was Islam, our culture was Islamic, we came from the Muslim world, we were kidnaped and brought here out of the Muslim world. And after being brought here we were stripped of our language, stripped of our ability to speak our mother

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than a Negro." Well sometimes a supposed absence of racial prejudice runs quite along those lines. Now prejudice is a damaging thing to Negroes. We have suffered under it tremendously. It damages the lives of little children. I remember when I first came into contact with segregation; it was when I was a child in Mississippi when my mother took me downtown, and on the way back this hot July day I wanted to stop and get a coke, and she told me I couldn't get a coke. I had to wait until I got home. "Well why can't I, there's a little boy going in" said I. "I bet he's going to get a coke." He was. "Well, Why can't I go?" "Because he's white," she said, "and you're colored.' Its not important what happened to me, the fact is that the same thing over and over again happens to every mother's child whose skin happens to be dark.

If the damage that is done to Negroes is obvious, the damage that is done to whites in America is equally obvious, for they're prejudiced. I lived in Texas a large part of my life; remember driving through the state, and after dusk had fallen being followed by cars of whites who forced me off the road and said to me, "Don't you know that your kind is not supposed to be in this town after sundown." I wondered what was happening to these people, how their minds were being twisted, as mine and others like me had had our minds twisted by this double-edged sword of prejudice. It is a disease indeed. It is an American disease. It is an American dilemma.

The Nation Suffers for Segregation

The damage to Negroes is psychological, it is also economic. Negroes occupying the bottom of the economic ladder, the poorest jobs, the lowest paying jobs. Last to be hired, and first to be fired, so that today the percentage of unemployed Negroes is twice as high as that of whites. There has been political damage as well. In the south we find that comparatively few Negroes are registered to vote. Many are apathetic even when they could register. The percentage who are registered in the north is almost equally as low. As a result, comparatively few Negroes are elected to political office. Thus, the damage to the Negroes, as a result of the disease of segregation has been psychological, economic, social, and political. I would suggest to you that the same damages have occurred to whites. Psychological damages are obvious. Economic —the nation itself suffers economically, as a result of denying the right of full development to one-tenth of its population. Skills, talents, and abilities, are crushed in their cradle, are not allowed to develop. Snuffed out. Thus, the nation's economy has suffered. People who could be producing are instead walking the streets. People who could be producing in better jobs and producing more are kept in the lower jobs, sweeping the floors and serving other persons. The whole nation has been damaged by segregation. Now, all of us share the guilt too. I myself am guilty. I am guilty because I spent half my life in the South. During those years I participated in segregation, cooperated with it, and supported it.

We are all intricately involved in the system of segregation. We have not yet extricated ourselves. Negroes are involved, and guilty, and share the blame to the extent they themselves have, by their deeds and their acts, allowed segregation to go on for so long. I do not believe that guilt is a part of my genes or your genes. It hinges upon the deeds that you have done. If you have supported segregation, then you are guilty. If you continue to support it, then your guilt is multiplied. But that is your guilt, that is mine. We share the guilt for the disease of segregation, and its continued existence. All too long, Negro Americans have put up with the system of segregation, North and South. Incidentally, it is not a Southern problem, it is a Northern one as well. Segregation exists in housing and in jobs, and in schools. We have put up with it, have done nothing about it.

The day before the Freedom Riders left Washington, D.C. to ride into the South, I visited my father who was in the hospital on what proved to be his deathbed. I told him I was going on a freedom ride in to the South. He wanted to know what it was and I told him. "Where are you going?" he asked, and I told him. He said, "Well, I'm glad that you're going, son, and I hope you survive. I realize you may not return, but," said he, "I'm glad you're going because when I was a child in South Carolina and Georgia, we didn't like segregation either, but we thought that's the way things always had to be and the way they always would be, so we put up with it, took part in it, decided to exist and to stay alive. I am glad," said he, "that there are lots of people today who are no longer willing to put up with the evil of segregation, but want to do something about it and know that something can be done." How right he was indeed.

The masses of Negroes are through putting up with segregation; they are tired of it. They are tired of being pushed around in a democracy which fails to practice what it preaches. The Negro students of the South who have read the Constitution, and studied it, have read the amendments to the Constitution, and know the

INTEGRATION LEADER JAMES FARMER

rights that are supposed to be theirs—they are coming to the point where they themselves want to do something about achieving these rights, not depend on somebody else. The time has passed when we can look for pie in the sky, when we can depend upon someone else on high to solve the problem for us. The Negro students want to solve the problem themselves. Masses of older Negroes want to join them in that. We can't wait for the law. The Supreme Court decision in 1954 banning segregated schools has had almost eight years of existence, yet, less than eight percent of the Negro kids are in integrated schools. That is far too slow. Now the people themselves want to get involved, and they are. I was talking with one of the student leaders of the South only last week, he said, "I myself desegregated a lunch counter, not somebody else, not some big man, some powerful man, but me, little me. I walked the picket line and I sat in and the walls of segregation toppled. Now all people can eat there." One young prize fighter was a cellmate of mine in the prisons of Mississippi as a freedom rider; he had won his last fight and had a promising career. I saw him three weeks ago, and asked him, "How are you coming along?" He said, "Not very well. I lost the last fight and I am through with the prize ring. I have no more interest in it". "The only fight I want now," said he, "is the freedom fight. Because, I a little man can become involved in it, and can help to win freedom." So that's what's happening; you see, we are going to do something about freedom now, we are not waiting for other people to do it. The student sit-ins have shown it, we are winning. As a result of one year of the student sit-ins, the lunch counters were desegregated in more than 150 cities. The walls are tumbling down.

Direct Action Brings Results

Who will say that lunch counters, which are scattered all over the country are not important? Are we not to travel? Picket lines and boycotts brought Woolworth's to its knees. In its annual report of last year, Woolworth's indicated that profits had dropped and one reason for the drop was the nationwide boycott in which many Northern students, including Cornellians participated. The picketing and the nationwide demonstrations are the reason that the walls came down in the south, because people were in motion with their own bodies marching with picket signs, sitting in, boycotting, withholding their patronage. In Savannah, Georgia, there was a boycott, in which ninety-nine percent of the Negroes participated. They stayed out of the stores. They registered to vote. The store owners then got together and said, "We want to sit down and talk, gentlemen, you have proved your point. You have proved that you can control Negroes' purchasing power and that you can control their votes. We need no more proof, we are ready to hire the people that you send." Negroes are hired in those stores now as a result of this community-wide campaign. In Lexington, Kentucky, the theatres were opened up by CORE as a result of picketing and boycotting. Some of the theatres refused to admit Negroes, others would let Negroes sit up in the balcony. They boycotted that one, picketed the others. In a short

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tongue, and it's a crime today to have to admit that there are 20 million black people in this country who not only can't speak their mother tongue, but don't even know they ever had one. This points up the crime of how thoroughly and completely the black man in America has been robbed by the white man of his culture, of his identity, of his soul, of his self. And because he has been robbed of his self, he is trying to accept your self. Because he doesn't know who he is, now he wants to be who you are. Because he doesn't know what belongs to him, he is trying to lay claim to what belongs to you. You have brain-washed him and made him a monster. He is black on the outside, but you have made him white on the inside. Now he has a white heart and a white brain, and he's breathing down your throat and down your neck because he thinks he's a white man the same as you are. He thinks that he should have your house, that he should have your factory, he thinks that he should even have your school—and most of them even think that they should have your woman, and most of them are after your woman.

So-Called Negroes Are Lost Sheep

The honorable Elijah Muhammad teaches us that the black people in America, the so-called Negroes, are the people who are referred to in the Bible as the lost sheep, who are to be returned to their own in the last days. He says that we are also referred to in the Bible, symbolically, as the lost tribe. He teaches us in our religion, that we are those people whom the Bible refers to who would be lost until the end of time. Lost in a house that is not theirs, lost in a land that is not theirs, lost in a country that is not theirs, and who will be found in the last days by the Messiah who will awaken them and enlighten them, and teach them that which they had been stripped of, and then this would give them the desire to come together among their own kind and go back among their own kind.

And this, basically, is why we who are followers of the honorable Elijah Muhammad don't accept integration; we feel that we are living at the end of time, by this, we feel that we are living at the end of the world. Not the end of the earth, but the end of the world. He teaches us that there are many worlds. The planet is an earth, and there is only one earth, but there are many worlds on this earth, the Eastern World and the Western World. There is a dark world and a white world. There is the world of Christianity, and the world of Islam. All of these are worlds and he teaches us that when the book speaks of the end of time, it doesn't mean the end of the earth, but it means the end of time for certain segments of people, or a certain world that is on this earth. Today, we who are here in America who have awakened to the knowledge of ourselves; we believe that there is no God but Allah, and we believe that the religion of Islam is Allah's religion, and we believe that it is Allah's intention to spread his religion throughout the entire earth. We believe that the earth will become all Muslim, all Islam, and because we are in a Christian country we believe that this Christian country will have to accept Allah as God, accept the religion of Islam as God's religion, or otherwise God will come in and wipe it out. And we don't want to be wiped out with the American white man, we don't want to integrate with him, we want to separate from him.

Separation Is The Best Solution

The method by which the honorable Elijah Muhammad is straightening out our problem is not teaching us to force ourselves into your society, or force ourselves even into your political, economic or any phase of your society, but he teaches us that the best way to solve this problem is for complete separation. He says that since the black man here in America is actually the property that was stolen from the East by the American white man, since you have awakened today and realized that this is what we are, we should be separated from you, and your government should ship us back from where we came from, not at our expense, because we didn't pay to come here. We were brought here in chains. So the honorable Elijah Muhammad and the Muslims who follow him, we want to go back to our own people. We want to be returned to our own people.

But in teaching this among our people and the masses of black people in this country, we discover that the American government is the foremost agency in opposing any move by any large number of black people to leave here and go back among our own kind. The honorable Elijah Muhammad's words and work is harassed daily by the F.B.I. and every other government agency which use various tactics to make the so-called Negroes in every community think that we are all about to be rounded up, and they will be rounded up too if they will listen to Mr. Muhammad; but what the American government has failed to realize, the best way to open up a black man's head today and make him listen to another black man is to speak against that black man. But when you begin to pat a black man on the back, no black man in his right mind will trust that black man any longer. And it is because of this hostility on the part of the government toward our leaving here that the honorable Elijah Muhammad says then, if the American white man or the American government doesn't want us to leave, and the government has proven its inability to bring about integration or give us freedom, justice and equality on a basis, equally mixed up with white people, then what are we going to do? If the government doesn't want us to go back among our own people, or to our own people, and at the same time the government has proven its inability to give us justice, the honorable Elijah Muhammad says if you don't want us to go and we can't stay here and live in peace together, then the best solution is separation. And this is what he means when he says that some of the territory here should be set aside, and let our people go off to ourselves and try and solve our own problem.

Some of you may say, Well, why should you give us part of this country? The honorable Elijah Muhammad says that for 400 years we contributed our slave labor to make the country what it is. If you were to take the individual salary or allowances of each person in this audience it would amount to nothing individually, but when you take it collectively all in one pot you have a heavy load. Just the weekly wage. And if you realize that from anybody who could collect all of the wages from the persons in this audience right here for one month, why they would be so wealthy they couldn't walk. And if you see that, then you can imagine the result of millions of black people working for nothing for 310 years. And that is the contribution that we made to America. Not Jackie Robinson, not Marian Anderson, not George Washington Carver, that's not our contribution; our contribution to American society is 310 years of free slave labor for which we have not been paid one dime. We who are Muslims, followers of the honorable Elijah Muhammad, don't think that an integrated cup of coffee is sufficient payment for 310 years of slave labor.

REBUTTAL

JAMES FARMER

I think that Mr. X's views are utterly impractical and that his so-called 'black state' cannot be achieved. There is no chance of getting it unless it is to be given to us by Allah. We have waited for a long time for God to give us other things and we have found that the God in which most of us happen to believe helps those who help themselves. So we would like you to tell us, Mr. X, just what steps you plan to go through to get this black state. Is it one that is going to be gotten by violence, by force? Is it going to be given to us by the Federal government? Once a state is allocated, then are the white people who happen to live there to be moved out forcibly, or Negroes who don't want to go to your black state going to be moved in forcibly? And what does this do to their liberty and freedom?

Now Mr. X suggests that we Negroes or so-called Negroes, as he puts it, ought to go back where we came from. You know, this is a very interesting idea. I think the solution to many of the problems, including the economic problem of our country, would be for all of us to go back where we came from and leave the country to the American Indians. As a matter of fact, maybe the American Indian can go back to Asia, where I understand the anthropologists tell us he came from, and I don't know who preceded him there. But if we search back far enough I am sure that we can find some people to people or populate this nation. Now the overwhelming number of Negroes in this country consider it to be their country; their country more than Africa: I was in Africa three years ago, and while I admire and respect what is being done there, while there is certainly a definite sense of identification, and sympathy with what is going on there, the fact is that the cultures are so very different. Mr. X, I am sure that you have much more in common with me or with several people whom I see sitting here than you do with the Africans, than you do with Tom Mboya. Most of them could not understand you, or you they, because they speak Swahili or some other language and you would have to learn those languages.

I tell you that we are Americans. This is our country as much as it is white American. Negroes came as slaves, most of us did. Many white people came as indentured servants; indentured servants are not free. Don't forget it wasn't all of you who were on that ship, The Mayflower.

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period of time, the theatre owners sat down to negotiate. All of the theatres there are open now. Using the same technique, they provided scores of jobs in department stores, grocery stores, and more recently as city bus drivers.

Then came the freedom rides. 325 people were jailed in Jackson, Mississippi, others beaten, fighting for freedom non-violently. They brought down many many barriers. They helped to create desegregation in cities throughout the South. The ICC order was forthcoming as a result of the freedom rides and a more recent Supreme Court ruling. CORE sent test teams throughout the South after the ICC order went into effect. The test teams found that in hundreds of cities throughout the South, where terminals had been previously segregated, they now were desegregated and Negroes were using them. Mississippi is an exception, except for two cities; Louisiana is an exception, except for one pocket of the state; but by and large the Rides were successful. And then on Route 40. How many Negroes and interracial groups have driven route 40 to Washington or to New York and carried their sandwiches, knowing that they could not eat between Wilmington and Baltimore. The freedom rides there, and some Cornell students participated in those freedom rides, brought down the barriers in more than half of those restaurants and each weekend, rides are taking place aimed at the others. By Easter we will have our Easter dinner in any place we choose on Route 40. At least 53 out of the 80 are now desegregated. In voter registration projects, we have registered 17,000 Negroes in South Carolina, previously unregistered. The politicians, segregationists, it's true, now call up our leaders and say, "I would like to talk to you because I don't believe in segregation as much as my opponent," or, "We would like to sit down and talk," or, "Can you come by my house and let's talk about this thing." Because they are realizing that now they have to be responsible to the votes of Negroes as well as the handful of whites, these are the things that are being done by people themselves in motion. Not waiting for someone else to do it, not looking forward to pie in the sky at some later date, not expecting a power on high to solve the problem for them, but working to solve it themselves and winning.

Integration Repudiates Racist Theories

What are our objectives; segregation, separation? Absolutely not! The disease and the evils that we have pointed to in our American culture have grown out of segregation and its partner, prejudice. We are for integration, which is the repudiation of the evil of segregation. It is a rejection of the racist theories of De-Gobineu, Lothrop Stoddard and all the others. It matters not whether they say that whites are superior to Negroes and Negroes are inferior, or if they reverse the coin and say that Negroes are superior and whites are inferior. The theory is just as wrong, just as much a defiance of history. We reject those theories. We are working for the right of Negroes to enter all fields of activity in American life. To enter business if they choose, to enter the professions, to enter the sciences, to enter the arts, to enter the academic world. To be workers, to be laborers if they choose. Our objective is to have each individual accepted on the basis of his individual merit and not on the basis of his color. On the basis of what he is worth himself.

This has given a new pride to large number of people. A pride to the people in Mississippi, who themselves saw others, white and Negro, joining them in the fight for freedom; 41 local citizens went into the jails of Mississippi joining the freedom riders. They have come out now and they have started their own non-violent Jackson movement for Freedom. They are sitting in. They are picketing, they are boycotting, and it is working. In Macomb, Mississippi, local citizens are now seeking to register to vote, some of them registering. In Huntsville, Alabama, as a result of CORE's campaign there (and we are now under injunction), for the past six weeks local Negro citizens have been sitting in every day at lunch counters. One of the white CORE leaders there in Huntsville was taken out of his house at gun point, undressed and sprayed with mustard oil. That's the kind of treatment they have faced, but they will not give up because they know they are right and they see the effects of their efforts; they see it in the crumbling walls in inter-state transportation and in other public facilities.

We are seeking an open society, an open society of freedom where people will be accepted for what they are worth, will be able to contribute fully to the total culture and the soul life of he nation.

Now we know the disease, we know what is wrong with America, we know now that the CORE position is in trying to right it. We must do it in interracial groups because we do not think it is possible to fight against caste in a vehicle which in itself is a representative of caste. We know that the students are still sitting in, they are still fighting for freedom. What we want, Mr X, the representative of the Black Muslim and Elijah Muhammed, to tell us today, is what his program is, what he proposes to do about killing this disease. We know the disease, physician, what is your cure? What is your program and how do you hope to bring it into effect? How will you achieve it? It is not enough to tell us that it may be a program of a black state. The Communists had such a program in the thirties and part of the forties, and they dropped it before the fifties as being impractical. So we are not only interested in the terminology. We need to have it spelled out, if we are being asked to follow it, to believe in it, what does it mean? Is it a separate Negro society in each city? As a Harlem, a South Side Chicago? Is it a separate state in one part of the country? Is it a separate nation in Africa, or elsewhere? Then we need to know how is it to be achieved. I assume that before a large part of land could be granted to Negroes or to Jews or to anybody else in the country it would have to be approved by the Senate of the United States.

You must tell us, Mr. X, if you seriously think that the Senate of the United States which has refused or failed for all these years to pass a strong Civil Rights Bill, you must tell us if you really think that this Senate is going to give us, to give you, a black state. I am sure that Senator Eastland would so vote, but the land that he would give us would probably be in the bottom of the sea. After seeing Alabama and Mississippi, if the power were mine, I would give you those states, but the power is not mine. I do not vote in the Senate. Tell us how you expect to achieve this separate black state.

Now it is not enough for us to know that you believe in black businesses, all of us believe that all Americans who wish to go into business, should go into business. We must know, we need to know, if we are to appraise your program, the kind of businesses, how they are to be established, will we have a General Motors, a General Electric? Will I be able to manufacture a Farmer Special? Where I am going to get the capital from? You must tell us if we are going to have a separate interstate bus line to take the place of Greyhound and Trailways. You must tell us how this separate interstate bus line is going to operate throughout the country if all of us are confined within one separate state.

You must tell us these things, Mr. X, spell them out. You must tell us also what the relationship will be between the black businesses which you would develop and the total American economy. Will it be a competition? Will it be a rival economy, a dual economy or will there be cooperation between these two economies?

Our program is clear. We are going to achieve our goals of integration by non-violent direct action on an interracial level with whites and Negroes jointly cooperating to wipe out a disease which has afflicted and crippled all of them, white and black alike. The proof of the pudding is the eating. We have seen barriers fall as the result of using these techniques. We ask you, Mr. X, what is your program?

REBUTTAL

MALCOLM X

I hadn't thought, or intended anyway, to get personal with Mr Farmer in mentioning his white wife; I thought that perhaps it would probably have been better left unsaid, but it's better for him to say than for me to say it, because then you would think I was picking on him. I think you will find if you were to have gone into Harlem a few years back you would have found on the juke boxes records by Belafonte, Eartha Kitt, Pearl Bailey, all of these persons were very popular singers in the so-called Negro community a few years back. But since Belafonte divorced Marguerite and married a white woman it doesn't mean that Harlem is anti-white, but you can't find Belafonte's records there; or maybe he just hasn't produced a hit. All of these entertainers who have become involved in intermarriage, and I mean Lena Horne, Eartha Kitt, Sammy Davis, Belafonte, they have a large white following, but you can't go into any Negro community across the nation and find records by these artists that are hits in the so-called Negro community. Because, sub-consciously, today the so-called Negro withdraws himself from the entertainers who have crossed the line. And if the masses of black people won't let a Negro who is involved in an inter-marriage play music for him, he can't speak for him.

The only way you can solve the race problem as it exists, is to take into consideration the feelings of the masses, not the minority; the majority not the minority. And it is proof that the masses of white people don't want Negroes forcing their way into their neighborhood and the masses of black people don't think it's any solution for us to force ourselves into the white neighborhood, so the only ones who want integration are the Negro minority, as I say, the bourgeoisie and the white minority, the so-called white

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JAMES FARMER

Now separation of course has been proposed as the answer to the problem, rather than integration. I am pleased however that Malcolm, oh pardon me, Mr. X, indicated that if integration works, and if it provides dignity, then we are for integration. Apparently he is almost agreeing with us there. He is sort of saying as King Agrippa said to St. Paul, "Almost Thou Persuadest Me." I hope that he will be able to come forth and make the additional step and join me at the integrationist side of this able. In saying that separation really is the answer and the most effective solution to this problem, he draws a distinction between separation and segregation, saying that segregation is forced ghettoism while separation is voluntary ghettoism. Well now, I would like to ask Mr. X whether it would be voluntary for Negroes to be segregated as long as we allow discrimination in housing throughout our country to exist. If you live in a black state and cannot get a house elsewhere, then are you voluntarily separated, or are you forcibly segregated?

Black Men and White Women

Now Mr. X suggests that actually the Negroes in this country want the white man's women. Now this is a view, of course, which is quite familiar to you; I've heard it before, there are some Negroes who are married to white people, and I, just before I came up, was looking over a back issue of the paper of the Muslims, and saw in there an indication that I myself have a white wife. And it was suggested that therefore I have betrayed my people in marrying a white woman. Well you know I happen to have a great deal of faith in the virtues and the abilities and capacities of Negroes. Not only Negroes, but all of the people too. In fact, I have so much faith in the virtues of Negroes that I do not even think those virtues are so frail that they will be corrupted by contact with other people.

Mr. X also indicated that Negroes imitate whites. It is true, we do, he is right. We fix our hair and try to straighten it; I don't do mine, I haven't had a conk in my life, I think they call it a process now, etc. But this is a part of the culture of course. After the black culture was taken away from us, we had to adapt the culture that was here, adopt it, and adapt to it. But it is also true that white people try to imitate Negroes, with their jazz, with their hair curlers, you know, and their man-tans. I think, Mr. X, that perhaps the grass is always greener on the other side of the fence. Now when we create integration, perhaps it won't be so necessary for us to resort to these devices.

The black bourgeoisie—is it only the middle class that wants integration. Were the sit-in students black bourgeoisie? They didn't fit into the definition in E. Franklin Frazier's book on the black bourgeoisie. Quite to the contrary, these students were lower class people. Many of them were workers working to stay in school. In the Freedom Rides, were they black bourgoisie? No, we didn't have exceptions there, we had some people who were unemployed. These are not the black bourgeoisie who want integration. Quite to the contrary, very frequently, the middle class developed a vested interest in the maintenance of segregation. Because if they have a store, and if segregation is eliminated, then I'll be in open competition with the white stores. And thus it is most often true as Frazier pointed out in his book, that the middle class tends to be opposed to desegregation. Now I would wonder also in the building of black businesses if we are not going to be building another black bourgeoisie? If Negroes may not perhaps be giving up one master for another, a white one for a black one? Are we going to build a new Negro middle class, and say that no matter how tyrannical it may prove to be it is my own and therefore, I like it?

Now we of course know that the Negro is sick, the white man is sick, we know that psychologically we have been twisted by all of these things; but still, Mr. X, you have not told us what the solution is except that it is separation, in your view. You have not spelled it out. Well, now, this sickness, as I tried to indicate in my first presentation, springs from segregation. It is segregation that produces prejudice, as much as prejudice produces segregation. In Detroit, at the time of the race riot, the only rioting, the only fighting, was in the all-Negro and all-white sections of the city, where separation was complete. In those several sections of the city where Negroes and whites lived together, next door to each other, there was no fighting because there the people were neighbors or friends. Now you propose separation as the solution to this problem, as the cure to the disease. Here we have a patient that is suffering from a disease caused by mosquitoes, and the physician proposes as a cure that the man go down and lie in a damp swamp and play with wiggletails.

MALCOLM X

liberals. And that same white liberal who professes to want integration whenever the Negro moves to his neighborhood, he is the first one to move out. And I was talking with one today who said he was a liberal and I asked him where did he live, and he lived in an all-white neighborhood and probably might for the rest of his life. This is conjecture, but I think it stands true. The Civil War was fought 100 years ago, supposedly to solve this problem. After the Civil Was was fought, the problem still existed. Along behind that, the thirteenth and fourteenth Amendments were brought about in the Constitution supposedly to solve the problem; after the Amendments, the problem was still right here with us.

Most Negroes think that the Civil War was fought to make them citizens; they think that it was fought to free them from slavery because the real purpose of the Civil War are clothed in hypocrisy. The real purpose of the Amendments are clothed in hypocrisy. The real purpose behind the Supreme Court Desegregation decision was clothed in hypocrisy. And any time integrationists, NAACP, CORE, Urban League, or what you have, will stand up and tell me to spell out how we are going to bring about separation, and here they are integrationists, a philosophy which is supposed to have the support of the Senate, Congress, President, and the Supreme Court, and still with all of that support and hypocritical agreeing, eight years after the desegregation decision, you still don't have what the court decided on.

So we think this, that when whites talk integration they are being hypocrites, and we think that the Negroes who accept token integration are also being hypocrites, because they are the only ones who benefit from it, the handful of hand-picked high-class, middle-class Uncle Tom Negroes. They are hand-picked by whites and turned loose in a white community and they're satisfied. But if all of the black people went into the white community, over night you would have a race war. If four or five little black students going to school in New Orleans bring about the riots that we saw down there, what do you think would happen if all of the black people tried to go to any school that they want, you would have a race war. So our approach to it, those of us who follow the honorable Elijah Muhammad, we feel that it is more sensible than running around here waiting for the whites to allow us inside their attic or inside their basement.

Anti-Discrimination Groups Discriminate

Every Negro group that we find in the Negro community that is integrated is controlled by the whites who belong to it, or it is led by the whites who belong to it. NAACP has had a white president for 53 years, it has been in existence for 53 years; Roy Wilkins is the Executive Secretary, but Spingarn, a white man has been the president for the past 23 years, and before him, his brother, another white man was president. They have never had a black president. Urban League, another so-called Negro organization, doesn't have a black president, it has a white president. Now this doesn't mean that that's racism, it only means that the same organizations that are accusing you of practicing discrimination, when it comes to the leadership they're practicing discrimination themselves.

The honorable Elijah Muhammad says, and points out to us that in this book ("Anti-Slavery") written by a professor from the University of Michigan, Dwight Lowell Dumond, a person who is an authority on the race question or slave question, his findings were used by Thurgood Marshall in winning the Supreme Court Desegregation decision. And in the preface of this book, it says that second-class citizenship is only a modified form of slavery. Now I'll tell you why I'm dwelling on this; everything that you have devised yourself to solve the race problem has been hypocrisy, because the scientists who delved into it teach us or tell us that second-class citizenship is only a modified form of slavery, which means the Civil War didn't end slavery and the Amendments didn't end slavery. They didn't do it because we still have to wrestle the Supreme Court and the Congress and the Senate to correct the hypocrisy that's been practiced against us by whites for the past umteen years.

And because this was done, the American white man today subconsciously still regards that black man as something below himself. And you will never get the American white man to accept the so-called Negro as an integrated part of his society until the image of the Negro the white man has is changed, and until the image that the Negro has of himself is also changed.

FD-340 (4-7-61)

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File No. 105-8999-1421

Date Received 4/29/63

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By [redacted]
(Name of Special Agent)

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Description:

1 copy of article in
5/63 PLAYBOY

see per 3593

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MAY 1963
FBI - NEW YORK

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1B2(3) [redacted]

File No. 105-8999 ~~1022~~ b7C

Date Received 3/12/64

From Malcolm X Press Conference,
(NAME OF CONTRIBUTOR)

Park Sheraton Hotel, NYC, 3/12/64
(ADDRESS OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(CITY AND STATE)

By [redacted] b7C
(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)

To Be Returned Yes ☐ No ☑

Description:
Text of telegram from Malcolm X Elijah Muhammad, 3/11/64,

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
MAR 16 1964
FBI - NEW YORK [redacted] b7C

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67C

TEXT OF TELEGRAM FROM MALCOLM X TO HONORABLE ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, MARCH 11

The National Officials there at the Chicago Headquarters know that I never left the Nation of Islam of my own free will. It was they who conspired with Captain Joseph here in New York to pressure me out of the Nation. In order to save the National Officials and Captain Joseph the disgrace of having to explain their real reason for forcing me out, I announced through the press that it was my own decision to leave.

I did not take the blame to protect those National Officials, but to preserve the faith your followers have in you and the Nation of Islam.

Despite what has been said by the press, I have never spoken one word of criticism to them about your family. I will always be a Muslim, teaching what you have taught me, and giving you full credit for what I know and what I am. You are still my leader and teacher, even though those around you wont let me be one of your active followers or helpers. The present course I am taking is the only way I can circumvent their obstacles and still expedite your program.

The tears you shed in Arizona gave the public the impression that you also are of the opinion that I left of my own free will, so I am giving a copy of this wire to the press. May Allah bless you with health and success. I am still your brother and servant.

Malcolm X

FD-340 (REV. 6-17-62)

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132(4) [redacted] b7C

File No. 105-8999-1423

Date Received 3/12/64

From Malcolm X's Press Conference,
(NAME OF CONTRIBUTOR)

Park Sheraton Hotel NYC, 3/12/64
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Description:
Copy of statement to press by Malcolm X on 3/8/64.

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MAR 16 1964
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STATEMENT TO THE PRESS BY MALCOLM X, MARCH 8, 1964

There has been talk of a split between me and the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. After 90 days of complete silence, I would like to make my position in this controversy crystal clear. Mr. Muhammad is the one who taught me everything I know and the one who made me into whatever I am.

I believe Allah has given him the best diagnosis of the ills that beset America's 22 million Negroes, and this same God has also given him the only solution that will eliminate the basic "causes behind our people's social, economic, political, moral, mental and spiritual ailments.

My chief concern is the plight of 22 million American Negroes. During this 90 days of silence, I have reached the conclusion that I can best spread Mr. Muhammad's message by staying out of the Nation of Islam, and continuing to work on my own among America's 22 million non-Muslim Negroes. But I will always remain a Muslim, and will always teach what Mr. Muhammad has taught me, as I best understand it.

Later this week, I shall call a press conference and announce my plan of operation, and as long as I am a True Believer, as the Holy Quran says, Allah will bless me with success.

Since there has been talk that I am trying to split the Muslims, I want it clearly understood that my advice to all Muslims is that they stay in the Nation of Islam under the spiritual guidance of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. It is not my desire to encourage any of them to follow me.

FD-340 (REV. 8-17-62) CONFIDENTIAL

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File No. 105-8999

Date Received 3-18-64

From [redacted] b2 b7D
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Description:
photographs taken at Malcolm X press conference held on 3-12-64 at PARK SHERATON HOTEL, NYC.

per 4/23/5

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Description:

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1. [redacted]

2. Enclosure to above [redacted] a press release from Maledon X in Jeddah, Saudia Arabia, dated 4/20/64.
(original in 100-153709-1B)

See per 4612

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NY 105 [illegible] 182 (7)

THE MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC.

HOTEL THERESA 2090 SEVENTH AVE., SUITE 128 NEW YORK, N. Y.

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/2/93 BY 9803 [redacted] b7c

FROM MALCOLM X *FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE*

Jedda, Saudi Arabia *April 20, 1964*

Never have I witnessed such sincere hospitality and the overwhelming spirit of true brotherhood as is practiced by people of all colors and races here in this Ancient Holy Land, the home of Abraham, Muhammad and all the other prophets of the Holy Scriptures. For the past week I have been utterly speechless and spellbound by the graciousness I see displayed all around me by people of all colors.

Last night, April 19th, I was blessed to visit the Holy City of Mecca, and complete the "Omra", part of my pilgrimmage. Allah willing, I shall leave for Mina tomorrow, April 21st, and be back in Mecca to say my prayers from Mt. Arafat on Tuesday, April 22nd. Mina is about 20 miles from Mecca.

Last night I made my seven circuits around the Kaaba, led by a young Mutawif named Muhammad. I drank water from the well of Zem Zem, and then ran back and forth seven times between the hills of Mt. Al-Safa and Al-Marwah.

There were tens of thousands of pilgrams from all over the world. They were of all colors, from blue-eyed blonds to black-skinned Africans, but were all participating in the same ritual, displaying a spirit of unity and brotherhood that my experiences in America had led me to believe could never exist between the white and non-white.

America needs to understand Islam, because this is the one religion that erases the race problem from its society. Throughout my travels in the Muslim World, I have met, talked to, and even eaten with, people who would have been considered "white" in America, but the religion of Islam in their hearts has removed the "white" from their minds. They practice sincere and true brotherhood with other people irrespective of their color.

Before America allows herself to be destroyed by the "cancer of racism" she should become better acquainted with the religious philosophy of Islam, a religion that has already molded people of all colors into one vast family, a nation or brotherhood of Islam that leaps over all "obstacles" and stretches itself into almost all the Eastern countries of this earth.

The whites, as well as the non-whites who accept true Islam become a changed people. I have eaten from the same plate with people whose eyes were the bluest of blue, whose hair was the blondest of blond, and whose skin was the whitest of white - all the way from Cairo to Jedda and even in the Holy City of Mecca itself - and I felt the same sincerity in the words and deeds of these "white" Muslims that I felt among the African Muslims of Nigeria, Sudan and Ghana.

True Islam removes racism, because people of all colors and races who accept its religious principles and bow down to the One God, Allah, also automatically accept each other as brothers and sisters, regardless of differences in complexion.

You may be shocked by these words coming from me, but I have always been a man who tries to face facts, and to accept the reality of life as new experiences and knowledge unfolds it. The experiences of this pilgrimmage have taught me much, and each hour here in the Holy Land opens my eyes even more. If Islam can place the spirit of true brotherhood in the hearts of the "whites" whom I have met here in the Land of the Prophets, then surely it can also remove the "cancer of racism" from the heart of the white American, and perhaps im time to save America from imminent racial disaster, the same destruction brought upon Hitler by his racism that eventually destroyed the Germans themselves.

At present I am a State Guest of His Excellency, Prince Faisal, the ruler of Arabia.

I am most grateful to Dr. Mahmoud Youssef Shawarbi, Director of the Islamic Center of New York for helping me to understand true Islam, a religion that teaches brotherhood and tolerance between peoples of all colors and national origins. He was instrumental in opening my eyes to Islam's views concerning cooperation between peoples in solving mutual problems amicably. He always reminded me of the relevant verse in our Holy Karan which says:

> *"Call unto the way of the Lord with wisdom and fair exhortation and reason with them in the better way."*
> *Holy Koran Ch. 16, Verse 125*

Dr. Shawarbi's name and prestige have opened many doors for me here in the Muslim World. New York City should be proud that he is the Director of its Islamic Center in addition to being the Director of the Islamic Federation of the United States and Canada.

My experiences here in the Muslim World compel me to urge Americans of all colors to flock to this great religious man and drink of his spiritual wisdom.

In New York, Dr. Shawarbi had given me the book "The Eternal Message of Muhammad" by Abd-al-Rahman Azzam. I read this most inspiring book all the way to Jeddah and I must confess that its wealth of information, expressed in frank and simple terms, opened a new world of Islamic thought to me. It broadened my scope, and made me more open-minded.

Two nights ago I had the honor of meeting this noble man, the author of the book, at the home of his son, Dr. Omar Azzam, here in Jeddah. He seemed to be one of the most modern progressive and broad-minded humans I have ever met. In America he would be called a "white" man, but to me he was a Muslim, and his warm, friendly hospitality made me soon feel like one of his sons. Upon learning that I had no reservations in any hotel, this world traveler, UN diplomat, ambassador and companion of kings, gave me his own suite, at the Jeddah Palane Hotel.

This man who would be considered "white" in America, gave his bed to me, an American Negro. It was he who made Prince Faisal aware of my presence in Jeddah.

The very next morning, His Excellency's son, Muhammad Faisal, informed me personally that I was to be a State Guest, by the will and decree of his esteemed father.

The Deputy Chief of Protocol, took me before the Hajj Court, presided over by His Holiness Sheikh Muhammad Harkon with whom I had tea when I visited Jeddah in 1959. I was pleased that he remembered me. He okayed my visa to Mecca, gave me two books on Islam, with his personal seal and autograph, and told me he prayed I would be a sucessful preacher of Islam in America. I felt very humble by the attention and honor they were bestowing upon me. It was an honor that in America would be bestowed upon a King--not a Negro.

They placed a car at my disposal, with a driver and a guide, making it possible for me to travel between Mecca and Jeddah almost at will. Never did I dream that I would be the recipient of such honors, especially being State Guest of the Prince who rules this Holy Land. All praise is due to Allah, the Lord of all the Worlds.

In my next letter I hope to tell you more about Mecca, and how Dr. Omar Azzam (the author's son) is modernizing these cities and the highway system that leads to all the Holy Places. They are even rebuilding the Great Mosque which houses the Kaaba in the Holy City of Mecca. It will be an architectural wonder that will rival the Taj Mahal in beauty, and the Pyramids in engineering skill when completed.

TEXT OF LETTER DATED APRIL 19, 1964 FROM EL-HAJJ MALIK → EL SHABAZZ (MALCOLM X)

FD-340 (REV. 8-17-62)

See serial 5241

File No. 105-8999-1B2(8) (12)

b7D b7C

Date Received [redacted]

From [redacted] b7C b7D

(NAME OF CONTRIBUTOR)

[redacted]

(ADDRESS OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(Cy. dtd 10/8/64 - serial 5241)

(CITY AND STATE)

b7C

By SA [redacted]

(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)

To Be Returned Yes ☐

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED ☒

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED b7C b7D

DATE 9/21/93 BY [redacted]

(1) [redacted]

(2) 1. These pages letter headed "The Muslim Mosque, Inc," dated 4/20/64.

(3) 3. One page letter headed "The Muslim Mosque Inc." dated 5/11/64.

(4) [redacted]

(5) [redacted] b7D b7C

(6) [redacted]

(7) 4/28/65 [redacted]

original returned to Cy in regard. Xerox copy made.

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____ b7C

SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____

FEB 20 1964

FBI - NEW YORK

[redacted]

4-750 (Rev. 12-14-88)

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NY 105-8999-182(9) enclosure

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PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
THIS SLIP FROM EXHIBIT
115-8999-162 (10)

THE MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC.

HOTEL THERESA 2090 SEVENTH AVE., SUITE 128 NEW YORK, N. Y.

May 11, 1964

For Immediate Release

FROM MALCOLM X IN LAGOS, NIGERIA

Each place I have visited, they have insisted that I don't leave. Thus I have been forced to stay longer than I originally intended in each country. In the Muslim world they loved me once they learned I was an American Muslim, and here in Africa they love me as soon as they learn that I am Malcolm X of the militant American Muslims. Africans in general, and Muslims in particular love militancy. I hope that my Hajj to the Holy City of Mecca will officially establish the religious affiliation of the Muslim Mosque, Inc. with the 750,000,000 Muslims of the World of Islam once and for all--and that my warm reception here in Africa will forever repudiate the American white man's propaganda that the Black man in Africa is not interested in the plight of the Black man in America.

The Muslim World is forced to concern itself from the moral point of view in its own religious concepts, with the fact that our plight clearly involves the violation of our human rights.

The Koran compels the Muslim World to take a stand on the side of those whose human rights are being violated, no matter what the religious persuasion of the victims are. Islam is a religion which concerns itself with the human rights of all mankind, despite race, color, or creed. It recognizes all (everyone) as part of one Human Family.

Here in Africa the 22 million American Blacks are looked upon as the long-lost brothers of Africa. Our people here are interested in every aspect of our plight, and they study our struggle for freedom from every angle. Despite western propaganda to the contrary, our African Brothers and Sisters love us, and are happy to learn that we also are awakening from our long "sleep" and are developing strong love for them.

(Signed)

El Hajj Malik El-Shabazz

UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/2/93 BY [redacted]

SA [redacted] b7C

FILE# 105-8999 -1B-2 (13)

DATE REC 1-11-65 - [redacted] b7C

TO BE RETURNED - NO

DESCRIPTION: Tape of MALCOLM X's appearance on the LES CRANE SHOW on WABC-TV Channel 7 on 12-28-64.

See Serial 5392

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED b7C
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/2/93 BY 9803 [redacted]

Serial [redacted] b7C

1/26/65

(Transcript found in NY 105-8999-5392)

FD-540 (REV. 8-17-62) Enter + return 2/9/65

[redacted] b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAIN[redacted]
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
D[redacted]9/2/93 BY 9807 [redacted]

[redacted] b7C

File [redacted] 105-8999-1B2 (4)

Date Received [redacted]

From [redacted] b7C
(NAME OF CONTRIBUTOR) b2 b7D

(ADDRESS OF CONTRIBUTOR)

[redacted] b7C
(CITY AND STATE)

By [redacted]
(NAME AND SPECIAL AGENT)

To Be Returned Yes ☐
No ☒

Description:

Leaflet announcing a speech by Malcolm X 1/31/65.

(1) 2/18 [redacted] b7C

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[redacted]

BALLOTS OR BULLETS IN 1965

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NY 105-189 9-18 2 (11)

MALCOLM X

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
9/2/93 9803 [redacted] b7C

Speaks

Why Must 1965 Be The Longest , Hottest And Bloodiest Summer Of The Current BLACK REVOLUTION

SUNDAY JANUARY 31, 1965

8:00 P.M.

AUDUBON BALLROOM
166th Street & Broadway

FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT MALCOLM X LITTLE

FILE NO. NY 105-8999

1B3 ENCLOSURE

Duplicate Green Sheet

NY 105-8999-1B3

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/3/93 BY [redacted]

b1c

235,295

Bulky Exhibit - Inventory of Propert 'cquired as Evidence
FD-192 (Rev. 12-5-58)

Date 3/11/65

☐ *Check, when submitting semiannual inventory, if no previous correspondence with Bureau.*

Bufile	STATUS	Field Division	File #
100-399321	P.	NY	105-899981B3
		OO: NY	File # 105-8999

Title and Character of Case

MALCOLM K. LITTLE
IS - MMI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 9/3/93 BY 9803 [redacted] b7C
235,296

Date Property Acquired	Source From Which Property Acquired
SEE BELOW	SEE INDIVIDUAL 1B'S

Location of Property or Bulky Exhibit	Reason for Retention of Property and Efforts Made to Dispose of Same
VAULT	EVIDENCE & INFORMATION - RETAIN

Description of Property or Exhibit and Identity of Agent Submitting Same SEE BELOW

(1) 3/11/65. Receipt dtd 2/21/65 for one Model 1911 Colt 45 Serial #335055 with clip containing 3 rounds of ammunition, turned over to NYCPD used in the killing of Malcolm X. Rec'd 2/21/65 by SA [redacted] b7C

(2) " Throwaway advertising memorial meeting to Malcolm X sponsored by Militant Labor Forum, SWP, NYC on 3/5/65. REC'D [redacted] by SA [redacted] b7C,D b7C [redacted]

(3) 3/31/65. Booklet, "TWO SPEECHES BY MALCOLM X" by Pioneer Publishers 5 E. Third Street, NY. Rec'd [redacted] by SA [redacted] b7D,C

(14) " Pamphlet printed by Pioneer Publishers 5 E. 3rd St., NYC entitled "TWO SPEECHES BY MALCOLM X". Rec'd [redacted] by SA [redacted] b7D,C b7C

(5) 4/9/65. Verification of death of Malcolm X on 2/21/65. Rec'd 3/22/65 by SA [redacted] b7C

(16) 6/9/65. [redacted] Rec'd 3/15/65 by SA [redacted] SEE SER. 6269 [redacted] b7D b7C b7C

0 6/23/86 [redacted] b7C

Field File # 1B3
#43

SEARCHED [redacted]
SERIALIZED [redacted]
FBI — [redacted]

b7C [redacted]

FD-340 (REV. 8-17-62)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/3/93 BY [redacted] b7C

File No. I 05-8999-[redacted] 1B3 (1)

Date Received 2-21-65 b7C [redacted]

From [redacted]
(NAME OF CONTRIBUTOR)
Inspector
6th Det Dist. NYCPD

(ADDRESS OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(CITY AND STATE)

By SA [redacted] b7C
(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)

To Be Returned Yes ☐
No ☒

Description: dtd 2/21/65

Receipt for one(1) Model 1911 Colt 45 Serial #335055 with clip containing 3 rounds of ammunition. turned over to NYCPD used in the killing of Malcolm X.

3/3/65 [redacted] b7C

SEARCHED ..... INDEXED
SERIALIZED ..... FILED
1965
FBI - NEW YO[redacted] b7C

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NY105-81[illegible]/23(1)

New York, N.Y.
2-21-65

Received by the undersigned one (1) Model 1911 Colt 45 Serian #335055 and clip with 3 rounds, from S.A[redacted] b7C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/3/93 BY 9[redacted] b7C

b7C

[redacted]

Inspector
6th Det. Dist.

FD-340 (REV. 8-17-62)

[redacted] b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/3/93 BY [redacted] b7C

[redacted]

File No. 105-8999-1B3(2)

Date Received [redacted]

From [redacted] b2 b7D b7C
(NAME OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(ADDRESS OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(CITY AND STATE)

By [redacted] b7C
(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)

To Be Returned Yes ☐ No ☑

Description:

Throwaway advertising memorial meeting to Malcolm X sponsored by Militant Labor Forum, SWP, NYC, on 3/5/65.

[redacted]

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
5 - 1965
FBI - NEW YORK
[redacted] b7C

1

3/10 [redacted]

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NY 105-89[illegible]-183(2)

MEMORIAL MEETING TO

MALCOLM X

SPEAKERS

Robert Vernon
CONTRIBUTOR TO THE MILITANT

Jack Barnes
EDITORIAL BOARD, YOUNG SOCIALIST

Guest Speaker

CHAIRMAN

Clifton DeBerry
1964 PRES. CANDIDATE, SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/3/99 BY [redacted]
b7c

Fri., March 5, 8:30 p.m.

Ausp. MILITANT LABOR FORUM
116 University Place... Contribution $1.

PROCEEDS TO MRS. MALCOLM X & FAMILY

FD-340 (REV. 5-17-62)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/3/93 BY 9803 [redacted] b7c

File No. 105-8999-163 (3) b7c

Date Received [redacted]

From [redacted] b2 b7D
(NAME OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(ADDRESS OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(CITY AND STATE)

By [redacted] b7c
(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)

To Be Returned Yes ☐
No ☑

Description: Booklet, "Two Speeches by Malcolm X" by Pioneer Publishers 5 E. Third St., NY, NY.

(1) 3/31/65 [redacted]

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
1965
FBI NEW YORK [redacted] b7c

SPECIAL 50c INTRODUCTORY OFFER

If you would like to get acquainted with "The Militant," send 50 cents for a four-month introductory subscription. You'll get important news and analysis on the Freedom Now movement, black nationalism, Cuba, Algeria, the Congo, and a wealth of other material of value to all those concerned with a better world.

THE MILITANT
116 University Place
New York, N.Y. 10003

YOURS FOR THE ASKING

For books and pamphlets on Cuba, the Freedom Now struggle, the labor movement, socialist theory, send for a free copy of our catalogue.

Pioneer Publishers
5 East Third Street,
New York, N.Y. 10003

Two Speeches by Malcolm X

PIONEER PUBLISHERS 25¢

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NY 105-8999 163 (3)

67C
67D,

INTRODUCTION

Malcolm X was one of the most slandered public figures of our time. In life and in death, the propaganda machine of the American power structure smeared him as a "racist," a "hate-monger" and a "terrorist."

Malcolm X was none of these things. He was an honest and fearless leader of his people and the most forward thinking figure in the movement for black emancipation. He was unique in the freedom-now movement in that his outlook was global and his thinking still in the process of evolving and deepening at the time of his tragic death.

To help make known the truth about what Malcolm X really stood for, we have made available in this pamphlet two of his major speeches, plus the remarks he made at a symposium, the text of a radio interview, excerpts from a magazine interview and the text of the statement he made at the time of his break with Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam, more widely known as the Black Muslims.

The statement announcing his break with the Nation of Islam was made at a press conference in New York March 12, 1964.

His speech on "Black Revolution," delivered at the Militant Labor Forum in New York April 8, 1964, was the first full-scale exposition of his views following the break.

His remarks at the May 29, 1964, Militant Labor Forum symposium in New York came a few days after his return from his first visit to Africa. The symposium was on the then current campaign of the New York police and press to promote the hoax of the existence of an alleged gang of young black "Blood Brothers" sworn to kill whites.

His speech at the Militant Labor Forum Jan. 7, 1965, on the subject "Prospects for Freedom in 1965" was delivered shortly after his second tour of Africa.

His interview over New York Station WBAI-FM with Harry Ring, member of the editorial staff of *The Militant*, was broadcast Jan. 28, 1965, less than a month before his death.

The interview with the magazine *Young Socialist*, was granted around the same time and was published in the March-April issue of the magazine which was just coming off the press at the time of his assassination.

All of the material in this pamphlet originally appeared in *The Militant*, a socialist weekly.

PIONEER PUBLISHERS
Five East Third Street,
New York, N.Y. 10003

Printed in U.S.A., March 1965 126

The following is the text of the statement delivered by Malcolm X in opening his press conference March 12, 1964, on the occasion of his break from the Nation of Islam.

• • •

Because 1964 threatens to be a very explosive year on the racial front, and because I myself intend to be very active in every phase of the American Negro struggle for *Human Rights*, I have called this press conference this morning in order to clarify my own position in the struggle — especially in regard to politics and non-violence.

I am and always will be a Muslim. My religion is Islam. I still believe that Mr. Muhammad's analysis of the problem is the most realistic, and that his solution is the best one. This means that I too believe the best solution is complete separation, with our people going back home, to our own African homeland.

But separation back to Africa is still a long-range program, and while it is yet to materialize, 22 million of our people who are still here in America need better food, clothing, housing, education and jobs *right now*. Mr. Muhammad's program does point us back homeward, but it also contains within it what we could and should be doing to help solve many of our own problems while we are still here.

Internal differences within the Nation of Islam forced me out of it. I did not leave of my own free will. But now that it has happened I intend to make the most of it. Now that I have more independence-of-action I intend to use a more flexible approach toward working with others to get a solution to this problem.

I do not pretend to be a divine man, but I do believe in divine guidance, divine power, and in the fulfillment of divine prophecy. I am not educated, nor am I an expert in any particular field — but I am sincere, and my sincerity are my credentials.

I'm not out to fight other Negro leaders or organizations. We must find a common approach, a common solution, to a common problem. As of this minute, I've forgotten everything bad that the other leaders have said about me, and I pray they can also forget the many bad things I've said about them.

The problem facing our people here in America is bigger than all other personal or organizational differences. Therefore, as leaders, we must stop worrying about the threat that we seem to think we pose to each other's personal prestige, and concentrate our united efforts toward solving the unending hurt that is being done daily to our people here in America.

I am going to organize and head a new Mosque in New York City, known as the Muslim Mosque, Inc. This gives us a religious base, and the spiritual force necessary to rid our people of the vices that destroy the moral fiber of our community.

Our political philosophy will be Black Nationalism. Our economic and social philosophy will be Black Nationalism. Our cultural emphasis will be Black Nationalism.

Many of our people aren't religiously inclined, so the Muslim Mosque, Inc., will be organized in such manner to provide for the active participation of all Negroes in our political, economic, and social programs, despite their religious or non-religious beliefs.

The political philosophy of Black Nationalism means: we must control the politics and the politicians of our community. They must no longer take orders from outside forces. We will organize and sweep out of office all Negro politicians who are puppets for the outside forces.

Our accent will be upon youth: we need new ideas, new methods, new approaches. We will call upon young students of political science throughout the nation to help us. We will encourage these young students to launch their own independent study, and then give us their analysis and their suggestions. We are completely disenchanted with the old, adult, established politicians. We want to see some new faces — more militant faces.

Concerning the 1964 elections: we will keep our plans on this a secret until a later date — but we don't intend for our people to be the victims of a political sell-out again in 1964.

The Muslim Mosque, Inc., will remain wide-open for ideas and financial aid from all quarters. Whites can help us, but they can't join us. There can be no black-white unity until there is first some black unity. There can be no workers solidarity until there is first some racial solidarity. We cannot think of uniting with others, until after we have first united among ourselves. We cannot think of being acceptable to others until we have first proven acceptable to ourselves. One can't unite bananas with scattered leaves.

Concerning non-violence: it is criminal to teach a man not to defend himself when he is the constant victim of brutal attacks. It is legal and lawful to own a shotgun or a rifle. We believe in obeying the law.

In areas where our people are the constant victims of brutality, and the government seems unable or unwilling to protect them, we should form rifle clubs that can be used to defend our lives and our property in times of emergency, such as happened last year in Birmingham, Plaquemine, La., Cambridge, Md., and Danville, Va. When our people are being bitten by dogs, they are within their rights to kill those dogs.

We should be peaceful, law abiding — but the time has come for the American Negro to fight back in self-defense whenever and wherever he is being unjustly and unlawfully attacked.

If the government thinks I am wrong for saying this, then let the government start doing its job.

Speech on "Black Revolution" New York, April 8, 1964

Friends and enemies, tonight I hope that we can have a little fireside chat with as few sparks as possible being tossed around. Especially because of the very explosive condition that the world is in today. Sometimes, when a person's house is on fire and someone comes in yelling fire, instead of the person who is awakened by the yell being thankful, he makes the mistake of charging the one who awakened him with having set the fire. I hope that this little conversation tonight about the black revolution won't cause many of you to accuse us of igniting it when you find it at your doorstep.

I'm still a Muslim, that is, my religion is still Islam. I still believe that there is no god but Allah and that Mohammad is the apostle of Allah. That just happens to be my personal religion. But in the capacity which I am functioning in today, I have no intention of mixing my religion with the problems of 22,000,000 black people in this country. Just as it's possible for a great man whom I greatly respect, Ben Bella, to be a Muslim and still be a nationalist, and another one whom I greatly respect, Gamal Nasser, to be a Muslim and still be a nationalist, and Sukarno of Indonesia to be a Muslim and still be a nationalist, it was nationalism which enabled them to gain freedom for their people.

I'm still a Muslim but I'm also a nationalist, meaning that my political philosophy is black nationalism, my economic philosophy is black nationalism, my social philosophy is black nationalism. And when I say that this philosophy is black nationalism, to me this means that the political philosophy of black nationalism is that which is designed to encourage our people, the black people, to gain complete control over the politics and the politicians of our own community.

Our economic philosophy is that we should gain economic control over the economy of our own community, the businesses and the other things which create employment so that we can provide jobs for our own people instead of having to picket and boycott and beg someone else for a job.

And, in short, our social philosophy means that we feel that it is time to get together among our own kind and eliminate the evils that are destroying the moral fiber of our society, like drug addiction, drunkenness, adultery that leads to an abundance of bastard children, welfare problems. We believe that we should lift the level or the standard of our own society to a higher level wherein we will be satisfied and then not inclined toward pushing ourselves into other societies where we are not wanted.

All of that aside, tonight we are dealing with the black revolution. During recent years there has been much talk about a population explosion and whenever they are speaking of the population explosion, in my opinion they are referring primarily to the people in Asia or in Africa — the black, brown, red, and yellow people. It is seen by people of the West that as soon as the standard of living is raised in Africa and Asia, automatically the people begin to reproduce abundantly. And there has been a great deal of fear engendered by this in the minds of the people of the West, who happen to be, on this earth, a very small minority.

In fact, in most of the thinking and planning of whites in the West today it's easy to see the

fear in their minds, conscious minds and subconscious minds, that the masses of dark people in the West, in the East rather, who already outnumber them, will continue to increase and multiply and grow until they eventually overrun the people of the West like a human sea, a human tide, a human flood. And the fear of this can be seen in the minds, in the actions, of most of the people here in the West in practically everything that they do. It governs political views and it governs their economic views and it governs most of their attitudes toward the present society.

Reason for Filibuster

I was listening to Dirksen, the Senator from Illinois, in Washington, D.C. filibustering the civil-rights bill and one thing that he kept stressing over and over and over was that if this bill is passed it will change the social structure of America. Well, I know what he's getting at, and I think that most other people today, and especially our people, know what is meant when these whites who filibuster these bills, and express fears of changes in the social structure, our people are beginning to realize what they mean.

Just as we can see that all over the world one of the main problems facing the West is race, likewise here in America today, most of your Negro leaders as well as the whites agree that 1964 itself appears to be one of the most explosive years yet in the history of America on the racial front, on the racial scene. Not only is this racial explosion probably to take place in America, but all of the ingredients for this racial explosion in America to blossom into a world-wide racial explosion present themselves right here in front of us. America's racial powder keg, in short, can actually fuse or ignite a world-wide powder keg.

And whites in this country who are still complacent when they see the possibilities of racial strife getting out of hand and you are complacent simply because you think you outnumber the racial minority in this country, what you have to bear in mind is wherein you might outnumber us in this country, you don't outnumber us all over the earth.

And any kind of racial explosion that takes place in this country today, in 1964, is not a racial explosion that can be confined to the shores of America. It is a racial explosion that can ignite the racial powder keg that exists all over the planet that we call earth. Now I think that nobody would disagree that the dark masses of Africa and Asia and Latin America are already seething with bitterness, animosity, hostility, unrest, and impatience with the racial intolerance that they themselves have experienced at the hands of the white West.

And just as they themselves have the ingredients of hostility toward the West in general, here we also have 22,000,000 African-Americans, black, brown, red, and yellow people in this country who are also seething with bitterness and impatience and hostility and animosity at the racial intolerance not only of the white West but of white America in particular.

Black Nationalist Party

And by the hundreds of thousands today we find our own people have become impatient, turning away from your white nationalism, which you call democracy, toward the militant uncompromising policy of black nationalism. I point out right here that as soon as we announced we were going to start a black nationalist party in this country we received mail from coast to coast, especially from young people at the college level, the university level, who expressed complete sympathy and support and a desire to take an active part in any kind of political action based on black nationalism, designed to correct or eliminate immediately evils that our people have suffered here for 400 years.

The black nationalists to many of you may represent only a minority in the community. And therefore you might have a tendency to classify them as something insignificant. But just as the fuse is the smallest part or the smallest piece in the powder keg it is yet that little fuse that ignites the entire powder keg. The black nationalists to you may represent a small minority in the so-called Negro community. But they just happen to be composed of the type of ingredient necessary to fuse or ignite the entire black community. And this is one thing that whites — whether you call yourselves liberals or conservatives or racists or whatever else you might choose to be — one thing that you have to realize is, where the black community is concerned, although there the large majority you come in contact with may impress you as being moderate and patient and loving and long-suffering and all that kind of stuff, the minority who you consider to be Muslims or nationalists happen to be made of the type of ingredient that can easily spark the black community. This should be understood. Because to me a powder keg is nothing without a fuse.

1964 will be America's hottest year; her hottest year yet; a year of much racial violence and much racial bloodshed. But it won't be blood that's going to flow only on one side. The new generation of black people that have grown up in this country during recent years are already forming the opinion, and it's a just opinion, that if there is to be bleeding, it should be reciprocal — bleeding on both sides.

It should also be understood that the racial sparks that are ignited here in America today could easily turn into a flaming fire abroad which only means it could engulf all the people of this earth into a giant race war. You cannot confine it to one little neighborhood, or one little community, or one little country. What happens to a black man in America today happens to the black man in Africa. What happens to a black man in America and Africa happens to the black man in Asia and to the man down in Latin America. What happens to one of us today happens to all of us. And when this is realized I think that the whites — who are intelligent even if they aren't moral or aren't just or aren't impressed by legalities — those who are intelligent will realize that when they touch this one, they are touching all of them, and this in itself will have a tendency to be a checking factor.

The seriousness of this situation must be faced up to. I was in Cleveland last night, Cleveland, Ohio. In fact I was there Friday, Saturday and yesterday. Last Friday the warning was given that this is a year of bloodshed, that the black man has ceased to turn the other cheek, that he has ceased to be non-violent, that he has ceased to feel that he must be confined to all these restraints that are put upon him by white society in struggling for what white society says he was supposed to have had a hundred years ago.

So today, when the black man starts reaching out for what America says are his rights, the black man feels that he is within his rights — when he becomes the victim of brutality by those who are depriving him of his rights — to do whatever is necessary to protect himself. And an example of this was taking place last night at this same time in Cleveland, where the police were putting water hoses on our people there and also throwing tear gas at them and they met a hail of stones, a hail of rocks, a hail of bricks. Couple weeks ago in Jacksonville, Florida, a young teenage Negro was throwing Molotov cocktails.

Well Negroes didn't do this ten years ago. But what you should learn from this is that they are waking up. It was stones yesterday, Molotov cocktails today; it will be hand grenades tomorrow and whatever else is available the next day. The seriousness of this situation must be faced up to. You should not feel that I am inciting someone to violence. I'm only warning of a powder-keg situation. You can take it or leave it. If you take the warning perhaps you can still save yourself. But if you ignore it or ridicule it, well death is already at your doorstep. There are 22,000,000 African-Americans who are ready to fight for independence right here. When I say fight for independence right here, I don't mean any non-violent fight, or turn-the-other-cheek fight. Those days are gone. Those days are over.

If George Washington didn't get independence for this country non-violently, and if Patrick Henry didn't come up with a non-violent statement, and you taught me to look upon them as patriots and heroes, then its time for you to realize that I have studied your books well.

Power of Minority

Our people, 22,000,000 African-Americans, are fed up with America's hypocritical democracy and today we care nothing about the odds that are against us. Every time a black man gets ready to defend himself some Uncle Tom tries to tell us, how can you win? That's Tom talking. Don't listen to him. This is the first thing we hear: the odds are against you. You're dealing with black people who don't care anything about odds. We care nothing about odds.

Again I go right back to the people who founded and secured the independence of this country from the colonial power of England. When George Washington and the others got ready to declare or come up with the Declaration of Independence, they didn't care anything about the odds of the British Empire. They were fed up with taxation without representation. And you've got 22,000,000 black people in this country today, 1964, who are fed up with taxation without representation, and will do the same thing. Who are ready, willing and justified to do the same thing today to bring about independence for our people that your forefathers did to bring about independence for your people.

And I say your people because I certainly couldn't include myself among those for whom independence was fought in 1776. How in the world can a Negro talk about the Declaration of Independence when he is still singing "We Shall Overcome." Our people are increasingly developing the opinion that we just have nothing to lose but the chains of segregation and the chains of second-class citizenship.

Struggles Will Merge

So 1964 will see the Negro revolt evolve and merge into the world-wide black revolution that has been taking place on this earth since 1945. The so-called revolt will become a real black revolution. Now the black revolution has been taking place in Africa and Asia and in Latin America. Now when I say black, I mean non-white. Black, brown, red or yellow. Our brothers and sisters in Asia, who were colonized by the Europeans, our brothers and sisters in Africa, who were colonized by the Europeans, and in Latin America, the peasants, who were colonized by the Europeans, have been involved in a struggle since 1945 to get the colonialists, or the colonizing powers, the Europeans, off their land, out of their country.

This is a real revolution. Revolution is always based on land. Revolution is never based on begging somebody for an integrated cup of coffee. Revolutions are never fought by turning the other cheek. Revolutions are never based upon love your enemy, and pray for those who spitefully use you. And revolutions are never waged singing, "We Shall Overcome." Revolutions are based upon bloodshed. Revolutions are never compromising. Revolutions are never based upon negotiations. Revolutions are never based upon any kind of tokenism whatsoever. Revolutions are never even based upon that which is begging a corrupt society or a corrupt system to accept us into it. Revolutions overturn systems, and there is no system on this earth which has proven itself more corrupt, more criminal than this system, that in 1964 still colonizes 22,000,000 African-Americans, still enslaves 22,000,000 Afro-Americans.

There is no system more corrupt than a system that represents itself as the example of freedom, the example of democracy and can go all over this earth telling other people how to straighten out their house, and you have citizens of this country who have to use bullets if they want to cast a ballot. The greatest weapon the colonial powers have used in the past against our people has always been divide and conquer.

America is a colonial power. She has colonized 22,000,000 Afro-Americans by depriving us of first-class citizenship, by depriving us of civil rights, actually by depriving us of human rights. She has not only deprived us of the right to be a citizen, she has deprived us of the right to be human beings, the right to be recognized and respected as men and women. And in this country the black can be 50 years old and he is still a "boy."

I grew up with white people. I was integrated before they even invented the word and I have never met white people yet — if you are around them long enough — who won't refer to you as a "boy" or a "gal," no matter how old you are or what school you came out of, no matter what your intellectual or professional level is. In this society we remain "boys."

America's Strategy

So America's strategy is the same strategy as that which was used in the past by the colonial powers: divide and conquer. She plays one Negro leader against the other. She plays one Negro organization against the other. She makes us think we have different objectives, different goals. As soon as one Negro says something, she runs to this Negro and asks him what do you think about what he said. Why anybody can see through that today — except some of the Negro leaders.

All of our people have the same goals. The same objective. That objective is freedom, justice, equality. All of us want recognition and respect as human beings. We don't want to be integrationists. Nor do we want to be separationists. We want to be human beings. Integration is only a method that is used by some groups to obtain freedom, justice, equality and respect as human beings. Separation is only a method that is used by other groups to obtain freedom, justice, equality or human dignity.

So our people have made the mistake of confusing the methods with the objectives. As long as we agree on objectives, we should never fall out with each other just because we believe in different methods or tactics or strategy to reach a common objective.

We have to keep in mind at all times that we are not fighting for integration, nor are we fighting for separation. We are fighting for recognition as human beings. We are fighting for the right to live as free humans in this society. In fact, we are actually fighting for rights that are even greater than civil rights and that is human rights.

We are fighting for human rights in 1964. This is a shame.

The civil-rights struggle has failed to produce concrete results because it has kept us barking up the wrong tree. It has made us put the cart ahead of the horse. We must have human rights before we can secure civil rights. We must be respected as humans before we can be recognized as citizens.

Among the so-called Negroes in this country, as a rule the civil-rights groups, those who believe in civil rights, they spend most of their time trying to prove they are Americans. Their thinking is usually domestic, confined to the boundaries of America, and they always look upon themselves as a minority. When they look upon themselves upon the American stage, the American stage is a white stage. So a black man standing on that stage in America automatically is in the minority. He is the underdog, and in his struggle he always uses an approach that is a begging, hat-in-hand, compromising approach.

Whereas the other segment or section in America, known as the nationalist, black nationalists, are more interested in human rights than they are in civil rights. And they place more stress on human rights than they do on civil rights. The difference between the thinking and the scope of the Negroes who are involved in the human-rights struggle and those who are involved in the civil-rights struggle — those so-called Negroes involved in the human-rights struggle don't look upon themselves as Americans.

They look upon themselves as a part of dark mankind. They see the whole struggle not within the confines of the American stage, but they look upon the struggle on the world stage. And, in the world context, they see that the dark man outnumbers the white man. On the world stage the white man is just a microscopic minority.

So in this country you find two different types of Afro-Americans, the type who looks upon himself as a minority and you as the majority, because his scope is limited to the American scene; and then you have the type who looks upon himself as part of the majority and you as part of a microscopic minority. And this one uses a different approach in trying to struggle for his rights. He doesn't beg. He doesn't thank you for what you give him, because you are only giving him what he should have had a hundred years ago. He doesn't think you are doing him any favors.

No Progress

He doesn't see any progress that he has made since the Civil War. He sees not one iota of progress because, number one, if the Civil War had freed him, he wouldn't need civil-rights legislation today. If the Emancipation Proclamation, issued by that great shining liberal called Lincoln, had freed him, he wouldn't be singing "We Shall Overcome" today. If the amendments to the Constitution had solved his problem, still his problem wouldn't be here today. And even if the Supreme Court desegregation decision of 1954 was genuinely and sincerely designed to solve his problem, his problem wouldn't be with us today.

So this kind of black man is thinking, he can see where every maneuver that America has made — supposedly to solve this problem — has been nothing but political trickery and treachery of the worst order. So today he doesn't have any confidence in these so-called liberals. Now I know that you — all that have come in here tonight don't call yourselves liberals. Because that's a nasty name today. It represents hypocrisy. So these two different types of black people exist in the so-called Negro community and they are beginning to wake up and their awakening is producing a very dangerous situation.

So you have whites in the community who express sincerity when they say they want to help.

Well how can they help? How can a white person help the black man solve his problem? Number one: you can't solve it for him. You can help him solve it, but you can't solve it for him today. One of the best ways that you can solve it — or to help him solve it— is to let the so-called Negro, who has been involved in the civil-rights struggle, see that the civil-rights struggle must be expanded beyond the level of civil rights to human rights. Once it is expanded beyond the level of civil rights to the level of human rights, it opens the door for all of our brothers and sisters in Africa and Asia, who have their independence, to come to our rescue.

Criminal Situation

Why, when you go to Washington, D.C., expecting those crooks down there to pass some kind — and that's what they are — to pass some kind of civil-rights legislation to correct a very criminal situation, what you are doing is encouraging the black man, who is the victim, to take his case into the court that's controlled by the criminal that made him the victim. It will never be solved in that way. Just like running from the wolf to the fox. The civil-rights struggle involves the black man taking his case to the white man's court. But when he fights it at the human-rights level, it is a different situation. It opens the door to take Uncle Sam to the world court. The black man doesn't have to go to court to be free. Uncle Sam should be taken to court and made to tell why the black man is not free in a so-called free society. Uncle Sam should be taken into the United Nations and charged with violating the UN charter on human rights.

You can forget civil rights. How are you going to get civil rights with men like Eastland and men like Dirksen and men like Johnson? It has to be taken out of their hands and taken into the hands of those whose power and authority exceed theirs. Washington has become too corrupt. Uncle Sam's conscience — Uncle Sam has become bankrupt when it comes to a conscience — it is impossible for Uncle Sam to solve the problem of 22,000,000 black people in this country. It is absolutely impossible to do it in Uncle Sam's courts — whether it is the Supreme Court or any other kind of court that comes under Uncle Sam's jurisdiction.

The only alternative that the black man has in America today is to take it out of Senator Dirksen's and Senator Eastland's and President Johnson's jurisdiction and take it downtown on the East River and place it before that body of men who represent international law and let them know that the human rights of black people are being violated in a country that professes to be the moral leader of the free world.

Any time you have a filibuster in America, in the Senate, in 1964 over the rights of 22,000,000 black people, over the citizenship of 22,000,000 black people or that will effect the freedom and justice and equality of 22,000,000 black people, it's time for that government itself to be taken before a world court. How can you condemn South Africa? There are only 11,000,000 million of our people in South Africa, there are 22,000,000 of them here. And we are receiving an injustice which is just as criminal as that which is being done to the black people of South Africa.

So today those whites who profess to be liberals — and as far as I am concerned it's just lip profession — you understand why our people don't have civil rights. You're white. You can go and hang out with another white liberal and see how hypocritical they are. While a lot of you sitting right here, know that you've seen whites up in a Negro's face with flowery words and as soon as

that Negro walks away you listen to how your white friend talks. We have black people who can pass as white. We know how you talk.

We can see that it is nothing but a governmental conspiracy to continue to deprive the black people in this country of their rights. And the only way we will get these rights restored is by taking it out of Uncle Sam's hands. Take him to court and charge him with genocide, the mass murder of millions of black people in this country — political murder, economic murder, social murder, mental murder. This is the crime that this government has committed and, if you yourself don't do something about it in time, you are going to open the doors for something to be done about it from outside forces.

I read in the paper yesterday where one of the Supreme Court Justices, Goldberg, was crying about the violation of human rights of 3,000,000 Jews in the Soviet Union. Imagine this. I haven't got anything against Jews, but that's their problem. How in the world are you going to cry about problems on the other side of the world when you haven't got the problems straightened out here? How can the plight of 3,000,000 Jews in Russia be qualified to be taken to the United Nations by a man who is a Justice in this Supreme Court, and is supposed to be a liberal, supposed to be a friend of black people and hasn't opened up his mouth one time about taking the plight of black people down here to the United Nations?

Politically Mature

Our people are becoming more politically mature. Their eyes are coming open. They are beginning to see the trend in all of the American politics today. They notice that every time there is an election it is so close among whites that they have to count the votes over again. This happened in Massachussets when they were running for governor, this happened in Rhode Island, it happened in Minnesota, and many other places, and it happened in the election between Kennedy and Nixon. Things are so close that any minority that has a bloc vote can swing it either way.

And I think that most students of political science agree that it was the 80 per cent support that Kennedy got from the black man in this country that enabled him to sit in the White House. Sat down there four years and the Negro was still in the doghouse. The same ones that we put in the White House have continued to keep us in the doghouse. The Negro can see that he holds the balance of power in this country politically.

It is he who puts in office the one who gets in office. Yet when the Negro helps that person get in office the Negro gets nothing in return. All he gets is a few appointments. A few handpicked Uncle Tom handkerchief-head Negroes are given big jobs in Washington, D.C. And then those Negroes come back and try and make us think that that administration is going to lead us to the promised land of integration. And the only ones whose problems have been solved have been those handpicked Negroes. A few big Negroes got jobs who didn't even need the jobs. They already were working. But the masses of black people are still unemployed.

The present administration, the Democratic administration, has been down there for four years. Yet no meaningful legislation has been passed by them that proposes to benefit black people in this country, despite the fact that in the House they have 257 Democrats and only 177 are Republicans. They control two thirds of the House. In the Senate there are 67 Democrats and only 33 Republicans. The Democrats control two thirds of the government and it is the Negroes who put them in

a position to control the government. Yet they give the Negroes nothing in return but a few handouts in the form of appointments that are only used as window-dressing to make it appear that the problem is being solved.

Trickery and Treachery

No, something is wrong. And when these black people wake up and find out for real the trickery and the treachery that has been heaped upon us you are going to have revolution. And when I say revolution I don't mean that stuff they were talking about last year about "We Shall Overcome." The Democrats get Negro support, yet the Negroes get nothing in return. The Negroes put the Democrats first, yet the Democrats put the Negroes last. And the alibi that the Democrats use — they blame the Dixiecrats.

A Dixiecrat is nothing but a Democrat in disguise. You show me a Dixiecrat and I'll show a Democrat. And chances are, you show me a Democrat and I'll show you a Dixiecrat. Because Dixie in reality means all that territory south of the Canadian border. There are 16 Senatorial committees that run this government. Of the 16 Senatorial committees that run the government, ten of them are controlled by chairmen that are from the South. Of the 20 Congressional committees that help run the government, 12 of them are controlled by Southern segregationists.

Think of this: ten of the Senatorial committees are in the hands of the Dixiecrats, 12 of the 20 Congressional committees are in the hands of the Dixiecrats. These committees control the government. And you're going to tell us that the South lost the Civil War? The South controls the government. And they control it because they have seniority. And they have seniority because in the states that they come from, they deny Negroes the right to vote.

If Negroes could vote south of the — yes, if Negroes could vote south of the Canadian border — south South, if Negroes could vote in the southern part of the South, Ellender wouldn't be the head of the Agricultural and Forestry Committee, Richard Russell wouldn't be head of the Armed Services Committee, Robertson of Virginia wouldn't be head of the Banking and Currency Committee. Imagine that, all of the banking and currency of the government is in the hands of a cracker.

In fact, when you see how many of these committee men are from the South you can see that we have nothing but a cracker government in Washington, D.C. And their head is a cracker President. I said a cracker President. Texas is just as much a cracker state as Mississippi — and even more so. In Texas they lynch you with a Texas accent and in Mississippi they lynch you with a Mississippi accent.

And the first thing this man did when he came in office was invite all the big Negroes down for coffee. James Farmer was one of the first ones — the head of CORE. I have nothing against him. He's all right — Farmer, that is. But could that same President have invited James Farmer to Texas for coffee? And if James Farmer went to Texas, could he have taken his white wife with him to have coffee with the President? Any time you have a man who can't straighten out Texas, how can he straighten out the country? No, you're barking up the wrong tree.

If Negroes in the South could vote, the Dixiecrats would lose power. When the Dixiecrats lost power, the Democrats would lose power. A Dixiecrat lost is a Democrat lost. Therefore the two of them have to conspire with each other to stay in power. The Northern Dixiecrat puts all the blame on the Southern Dixiecrat. It's a con game, a giant political con game. The job of the Northern Democrat is to make the Negro think that he is our friend. He is always smiling and wagging his

tail and telling us how much he can do for us if we vote for him. But, at the same time he's out in front telling us what he's going to do, behind the door he's in cahoots with the Southern Democrat setting up the machinery to make sure he'll never have to keep his promise.

This is the conspiracy that our people have faced in this country for the past 100 years. And today you have a new generation of black people who have come on the scene who have become disenchanted with the entire system, who have become disillusioned over the system and who are ready now and willing to do something about it. So in my conclusion in speaking about the black revolution, America today is at a time or in a day or at an hour where she is the first country on this earth that can actually have a bloodless revolution. In the past revolutions have been bloody. Historically you just don't have a peaceful revolution. Revolutions are bloody, revolutions are violent, revolutions cause bloodshed and death follows in their paths. America is the only country in history in a position to bring about a revolution without violence and bloodshed. But America is not morally equipped to do so.

Why is America in a position to bring about a bloodless revolution? Because the Negro in this country holds the balance of power and if the Negro in this country were given what the Constitution says he is supposed to have, the added power of the Negro in this country would sweep all of the racists and the segregationists out of office. It would change the entire political structure of the country. It would wipe out the Southern segregationism that now controls America's foreign policy, as well as America's domestic policy.

And the only way without bloodshed that this can be brought about is that the black man has to be given full use of the ballot in every one of the 50 states. But if the black man doesn't get the ballot, then you are going to be faced with another man who forgets the ballot and starts using the bullet.

Revolutions are fought to get control of land, to remove the absentee landlord and gain control of the land and the institutions that flow from that land. The black man has been in a very low condition because he has had no control whatsoever over any land. He has been a beggar economically, a beggar politically, a beggar socially, a beggar even when it comes to trying to get some education. So that in the past the type of mentality that was developed in this colonial system among our people, today is being overcome. And as the young ones come up they know what they want. And as they listen to your beautiful preaching about democracy and all those other flowery words, they know what they're supposed to have.

So you have a people today who not only know what they want, but also know what they are supposed to have. And they themselves are creating another generation that is coming up that not only will know what it wants and know what it should have, but also will be ready and willing to do whatever is necessary to see that what they should have materializes immediately. Thank you.

Remarks at Militant Labor Forum symposium on "Blood Brothers," May 29, 1964

Malcolm X: I didn't know until this afternoon about the forum this evening. But one of my coworkers, who is very able and capable, Brother James [Shabazz], told me about it and I couldn't resist the opportunity to come. Some writer said one of my weaknesses is that I can't resist a platform. Well, that's perhaps true. Whenever you have something to say and you're not afraid to say it, I think you should go ahead and say it and let the chips fall where they may. So I take advantage of all platforms to get off my mind what's on it.

Also, they say travel broadens your scope, and recently I've had an opportunity to do a lot of it, in the Middle East and Africa, and while I was traveling I noticed that most of the countries that had recently emerged into independence, they have turned away from the so-called capitalistic system in the direction of socialism. So out of curiosity, I can't resist the temptation to do a little investigating wherever that particular philosophy happens to be in existence or an attempt is being made to bring it into existence.

Thirdly, the first time I ever heard about the "Blood Brothers," I happened to be in Nigeria, in West Africa. And someone, a doctor, a Nigerian but who had spent too much time in Europe, was the first one to bring it to my attention, and ask me about it. It didn't make me sad at all. And I don't see why anybody should be sad or regretful . . . if such does exist. I recall in 1959 when everybody began to talk about the Black Muslims, all the Negro leaders said no such group existed. In fact, I recall, on the Mike Wallace show, Roy Wilkins was asked about the Black Muslims — he said he never heard of it — and then they flashed a picture of him on the screen shaking hands with me.

And I think one of the mistakes that our people make — they're too quick to apologize for something that might exist that the power structure finds deplorable and finds difficult to digest. And without even realizing it, sometimes we try and prove it doesn't exist. And if it doesn't, sometimes it should. I am one person who believes that anything the black man in this country needs to get his freedom right now, that thing should exist.

Blood Brothers

As far as I'm concerned, everybody who has caught the same kind of hell that I have caught is my blood brother. And I have plenty of them. Because all of us have caught the same hell. So the question is, if they don't exist, should they exist? Not do they exist, should they exist? Do they have a right to exist? And since when must a man deny the existence of his blood brother? It's like denying his family . . . If we're going to talk about police brutality, it's because police brutality exists. Why does it exist? Because our people in this particular society live in a police state. A black man in America lives in a police state. He doesn't live in any democracy, he lives in a police state. That's what it is, that's what Harlem is . . . I visited the Casbah in Casablanca and I visited the one in Algiers, with some of the brothers — blood brothers. They took me all down into it and showed me the suffering, showed me the conditions that they had to live under while they were be-

ing occupied by the French . . . They showed me the conditions that they lived under while they were colonized by these people from Europe. And they also showed me what they had to do to get those people off their back. The first thing they had to realize was that all of them were brothers; oppression made them brothers; exploitation made them brothers; degradation made them brothers; discrimination made them brothers; segregation made them brothers; humiliation made them brothers.

And once all of them realized that they were blood brothers, they also realized what they had to do, to get that man off their back. They lived in a police state, Algeria was a police state. Any occupied territory is a police state; and this is what Harlem is. Harlem is a police state; the police in Harlem, their presence is like occupation forces, like an occupying army. They're not in Harlem to protect us; they're not in Harlem to look out for our welfare; they're in Harlem to protect the interests of the businessmen who don't even live there.

The same conditions that prevailed in Algeria that forced the people, the noble people of Algeria, to resort eventually to the terrorist-type tactics that were necessary to get the monkey off their backs, those same conditions prevail today in America in every Negro community.

And I would be other than a man to stand up and tell you that the Afro-American, the black people who live in these communities and in these conditions are ready and willing to continue to sit around non-violently and patiently and peacefully looking for some good will to change the conditions that exist. No! . . .

Police Commissioner Murphy is a dangerous man. He's dangerous because either he lacks understanding or he has too much understanding and knows what he's doing. If he's functioning as he is from lack of knowledge and understanding, he's dangerous; and then if he's doing as he is from understanding he's dangerous. Because what he's doing is creating a situation that can lead to nothing but bloodshed. Almost every public statement he makes is designed to give the police in Harlem courage to resort to tactics that are inhuman.

And in my opinion this type of incitement on the part of the police commissioner to act other than they should, stems from a lacks of understanding of the true spirit that exists among the young generation in Harlem. He must have been misinformed by some of that old generation who have been ready and willing to suffer brutality at the hands of someone just because he has on a uniform. Nowadays, our people don't care who the oppressor is, whether he has a sheet or whether he has on a uniform, he's in the same category.

You will find that there is a growing tendency among our people, among us, to do whatever is necessary to bring this to a halt. You have a man like Police Commissioner Murphy — and I'm not against the law; I'm not against law-enforcement. You need laws to survive and you need law-enforcement to have an intelligent, peaceful society; but we have to live in these places and suffer the type of conditions that exist from officers who lack understanding, who lack any human feeling, and lack any feeling for their fellow human being . . . I'm not here to apologize for the existence of any blood brothers. I'm not here to minimize the factors that hint toward their existence. I'm here to say that if they don't exist it's a miracle . . .

If those of you who are white have the good of the black people in this country at heart my suggestion is that you have to realize now that the day of non-violent resistance is over; that the day of passive resistance is over . . .

The next thing you'll see here in America — and please don't blame it on me when you see it — you will see the same things that have taken place among other people on this earth whose position was parallel to the 22 million Afro-Americans in this country.

Example of China

The people of China grew tired of their oppressors and the people rose up against their oppressors. They didn't rise up non-violently. It was easy to say that the odds were against them but eleven of them started out and today those eleven control 800 million. They would have been told back then that the odds were against them. As the oppressor always points out to the oppressed, 'the odds are against you.'

When Castro was up in the mountains of Cuba they told him the odds were against him. Today he's sitting in Havana and all the power this country has can't remove him.

They told the Algerians the same thing — What do you have to fight with? Today they have to bow down to Ben Bella. He came out of the jail that they put him in and today they have to negotiate with him because he knew that the one thing he had on his side was truth and time. Time is on the side of the oppressed today. It's against the oppressor. Truth is on the side of the oppressed today, it's against the oppressor. You don't need anything else.

I would just like to say this in my conclusion. You'll see terrorism that will terrify you and if you don't think you'll see it you're trying to blind yourself to the historic development of everything that's taking place on this earth today. You'll see other things.

Why will you see them? Because as soon as people realize that it's impossible for a chicken to produce a duck egg — even though they both belong to the same family of fowl, a chicken just doesn't have within its system to produce a duck egg. It can't do it. It can only produce according to what that particular system was constructed to produce. The system in this country cannot produce freedom for an Afro-American. It is impossible for this system, this economic system, this political system, this social system, this system, period. It's impossible for this system as it stands to produce freedom right now for the black man in this country.

And if ever a chicken did produce a duck egg I'm certain you would say it was certainly a revolutionary chicken!

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Question Period

Q. What political system does Malcolm X want?

A. I don't know. But I'm flexible. As was stated earlier, all of the countries that are emerging today from under the shackles of colonialism are turning toward socialism. I don't think it's an accident. Most of the countries that were colonial powers were capitalist countries and the last bulwark of capitalism today is America and it's impossible for a white person today to believe in capitalism and not believe in racism. You can't have capitalism without racism. And if you find a person without racism and you happen to get that person into a conversation and they have a philosophy that makes you sure they don't have this racism in their outlook, usually they're socialists or their political philosophy is socialism.

Summarizing

Malcolm X: So in essence, the summary is that there's a problem that is confronting the black people and until the problem of the black people in this country is solved, the white people have a problem that's going to cause an end to this society, system and race as you know it. The best way to solve your problem is to help us solve our problem. I'm not a racist. I've never been a racist. I believe in indicting the system and the

person that is responsible for our condition.

And the only defense that the people who are in control of the power structure and system that's exploiting us have had, is to label those who indict it without compromise as racists and extremists.

Now if there are white people who are genuinely and sincerely fed up with the condition that black people are in, in America, then they have to take a stand, but not a compromising stand, not a tongue-in-cheek stand, not a nonviolent stand . . .

Speech at Militant Labor Forum, Jan. 7, 1965, on "Prospects for Freedom in 1965"

Mr. Chairman (who's one of my brothers), ladies and gentlemen, brothers and sisters:

It is an honor to me to come back to the Militant Labor Forum again this evening. It's my third time here. I was just telling my brother up here that probably tomorrow morning the press will try to make it appear that this little chat that we're having here this evening took place in Peking or someplace else . . .

But it's the third time that I've had the opportunity to be a guest of the Militant Labor Forum. I always feel that it is an honor and every time that they open the door for me to do so, I will be right here.

The *Militant* newspaper is one of the best in New York City. In fact, it is one of the best anywhere you go today because everywhere I go I see it. I saw it even in Paris about a month ago. They were reading it over there, and I saw it in some parts of Africa where I was during the summer. I don't know how it gets there. But if you put the right things in it, what you put in it will see that it gets around.

Tonight, during the few moments that we have, we're going to have a little chat, like brothers and sisters and friends, and probably enemies too, about the prospects for peace — or the prospects for freedom in 1965 As you notice, I almost slipped and said peace and freedom. Actually you can't separate peace from freedom because no one can be at peace unless he has his freedom. You can't separate the two — and this is the thing that makes 1965 so explosive and so dangerous.

Define Freedom

The people in this country who in the past have been at peace and have been peaceful were that way only because they didn't know what freedom was. They let somebody else define it for them, but today, 1965, you find those who have not had freedom, and are not in a position to define freedom, are beginning to define it for themselves. And as they get in a position intellectually to define freedom for themselves, they see that they don't have it, and it makes them less peaceful, or less inclined towards peace.

So, in discussing this topic tonight, prospects for freedom in 1965, I think we have to go back at least 12 years, or ten years, to the time when the struggle of the black man in America began to be projected into the limelight, not only in this country but throughout the world.

It started primarily with the Supreme Court decision, so-called desegregation decision, and I should say so-called desegregation so-called decision, because there has been some doubt as to what they really handed down.

One of the main ingredients of the struggle of the black man in America for the past 12 years has been the Black Muslim movement. No one can deny that the role that the Black Muslim movement has played in America during the past 12 years has been one of the main ingredients in the stepped-up militancy on the part of black people throughout this country.

No matter what direction the Black Muslim movement itself was headed in, no matter what its own organizational philosophy was, and no matter what other people thought about it, no matter what their personal opinions were of the Black Muslim movement, still it cannot be denied that that movement, because of its uncompromising stand, and because of its uncompromisingly militant approach to things, forced other civil-rights organizations to be more militant than they normally would have been, and forced many of the civil-rights leaders definitely to be more militant than they ever would have thought of being.

So the militancy of the black man in America during the past ten years can be traced largely to the existence and presence of the movement which I'm referring to now for purposes of identification as the Black Muslim movement. Its contribution to the black struggle for freedom in this country was militancy. It made many of our people dare to get loud for the first time in 400 years. It made many of the black leaders of the civil-rights movement dare to get loud for the first time — I mean really loud — for the first time in nearly 400 years in our country . . .

The leaders themselves never intended, and they never do intend, for our people to go too far. Their primary purpose has always been to contain our struggle, not to lead our struggle. Proof of this is that seldom are they seen until the "irresponsible" elements in the black community begin to explode. And then they go all the way around the country to grab one of them from wherever he's traveling and bring him in to cool things down, to tell us to be cool, or to tell us to take it easy — don't rock the boat. This is their function. This is their role — at least it has been until recent times . . .

But the existence of some of the Muslim groups and the black nationalist groups that couldn't be controlled by the power structure downtown (and I only use the expression "power structure downtown" to keep from calling it what it actually is) actually served their purpose in the sense that they gave respectability to the civil-rights groups and gave acceptability to the civil-rights groups. Ten years ago or more, the NAACP was looked upon as a radical leftist, almost subversive, movement, and then when the Black Muslim movement came along, the power structure said thank the Lord for Roy Wilkins and the NAACP . . .

Wilkins, Farmer, King

When they looked around one day and found someone talking about, "All of them are devils," they were all night looking up Roy Wilkins and James Farmer and the right reverend Dr. King and some of the others to soothe them and keep them thinking that all of our people didn't think like that . . .

One of the things I noticed, when I was in Africa traveling around, was many Africans who were still colonized, still exploited, still oppressed. And one of the things all of them had in common was they seemed sad. They would discuss their sad plight, but they weren't ready to really do anything to change it. They seemed to be waiting for a miracle.

But the contrasting difference between them and what happened in Kenya was that the Kikuyu got mad. They just didn't care what the consequences were. They cared nothing about legality, morality, or anything. All they knew was that they were being oppressed unjustly, illegally, immorally. And because of this unjust, illegal, immoral oppression they were suffering, they came to the conclusion that they would be within their rights to bring it to a halt by any means necessary. And they adopted those means. And when they began to use these means in their struggle for freedom, the press of the West began to project them in a very negative image . . .

Not Image Conscious

But the Mau-Mau weren't image conscious. They weren't status seekers. They weren't social climbers. They wanted freedom, and they came to a conclusion in a point in their journey that the only way there was to get it was the way they did it. And they got it. I admire them for that. I respect them for that . . .

I say and I must say — because a reporter was asking me a few moments ago either to confirm or deny the statement that the *Times* had mentioned when I said we needed a Mau-Mau in the United States — I never would deny that we need more than a Mau-Mau in the U.S. I mean, actually a person has a lot of nerve to ask me that in a society (I'm deviating now because they put me off the track) where in 1964 three civil-rights workers can be murdered in cold blood and — not the Mississippi government — but the federal government can't do anything about it.

I say we need a Mau-Mau when a Negro educator can be murdered in Georgia and they know who murdered him and the government can do nothing about it. I say we need a Mau-Mau and I'll be the first to join it. A lot of people that you don't think go for it will line right up behind me.

So getting back to the Black Muslim movement. You have to understand it to understand what has taken place in the civil-rights movement in this country during the past ten years and in order to understand what might take place in 1965. The Black Muslim movement attracted the most militant young black people in this country. The most restless, the most impatient and the most uncompromising black men and women were attracted to the Black Muslim movement.

But the movement itself, as it began to grow, actually was maneuvered into a vacuum, in that it represented itself as a religious movement and the religion with which it identified itself was Islam, and the people in the part of the world who also identified that as their religion did not accept the Black Muslim movement as a *bona-fide* Islamic or Moslem movement. They never did accept it as that. So it was put in the position of going by a religion that rejected it, which put it into a vacuum or made it a religious hybrid.

On the other hand, the government in Washington (I guess that's where it is) tried to label the Black Muslim movement as political. It used the press, it maneuvered the press to project the Black Muslim movement in an image that would enable the government itself to list it as political and therefore to label it seditious and subversive and step in and stomp it out . . .

So the Black Muslim movement was not only a religious hybrid but it became a political hybrid in that it was more political than religious, but at the same time it didn't take part in politics. It didn't take part in the civil-rights struggle. It took part in nothing that black people in this country were doing to correct conditions that existed in our community, other than it had a moral force — it stopped our people from getting drunk and taking drugs and things of that sort, which is not enough. After you sober up, you're still poor.

So it became in a vacuum. It actually developed, it grew, it became powerful — but it was in a vacuum. And it was filled with extremely militant young people who weren't willing to compromise with anything and wanted action. More action, actually, than the organization itself could produce. More constructive action, and more positive action, than the hierarchy of the organization was qualified, actually, to produce.

The main objective of the movement was land. But those in the movement were told that God would come and take them to that land. Well, for a time this was all right. But, as no visible means were ever detected by anyone in the movement that would enable us to see that a plan was afoot to make this objective materialize, it caused dissatisfaction. It caused dissension — which eventually developed division. And . . . out of that division or out of those who left was formed an authentic religious group, known as Muslim Mosque, Inc., which practiced the religion of Islam as it is practiced and taught in Mecca and Cairo and Lahore and other parts of the Moslem world.

Muslim Mosque, Inc.

But those who went into the orthodox practice of the Islam religion in the Muslim Mosque, Inc., at the same time we realized that we were black people in a white society. We were black people in a racist society. We were black people in a society whose very political system was based and nourished upon racism, whose social system was a racist system, whose economic system was nourished with racism. We were black people who wanted to be religious, who wanted to practice brotherhood and all of that, who wanted to love everybody, and all of that, too; but, at the same time, that was a dream — you know, as my good friend, the doctor, said.

So, wanting brotherhood and wanting peace and wanting all these other beautiful things, we had to also face reality and realize that we were in a racist society that was controlled by racists from the federal government right on down to the local governments — from the White House right on down to City Hall. Racism was what we were confronted by. So we knew that this was a problem that was beyond religion and we formed another organization that was non-religious. And this organization was called the Organization of Afro-American Unity or the OAAU.

We got the idea for it from travels and observations of the success that our brothers on the African continent were having in their struggle for freedom. They were getting free faster than we. They were getting their independence faster than we. They were getting recognition and respect, even when they came to this country, faster than we. We had to find out what was happening, how were they doing it, and what were they doing, so we could try a little bit of it.

On the African continent, the imperialists, the colonial powers had always divided and conquered. They had practiced "divide and conquer," and this had kept the people of Africa, and Asia, from ever coming together. So on the African continent had appeared an organization known as the OAU, or Organization of African Unity, and this had been put together by a group of people — a highly skilled group of African intellectuals and politicians . . .

And since we in America were confronted with the same divisive tactics from our enemy, we decided to call ours the Organization of Afro-American Unity — which would be designed after the letter and spirit of the Organization of African Unity. In fact, we consid-

ered ourselves an offspring of our parent organization on our mother continent.

After it was formed, I spent five months in the Middle East and Africa, primarily for the purpose of getting better acquainted with them and making them better acquainted with us, giving them a first-hand account of our problems and what our problems actually consist of. When I first got there in July, I found some of them difficult to talk to. But by the time I left, in November, I didn't find anybody difficult to talk to . . .

By the time I had returned last month, the Muslim Mosque, Inc., had received official recognition and support by all of the official religious bodies in the Moslem world and the Organization of Afro-American Unity had also received official recognition and support from all of the African countries I visited and from most of those I didn't visit.

The first thing when I returned . . . I kept being asked the question by some reporters, "We heard you changed" . . . I smiled and all. But I would say to myself: How in the world can a white man expect a black man to change before he has changed? How do you expect us to change when you haven't changed? How do xpu expect us to change when the causes that made us as we are have not been removed? . . .

It's true I'm a Moslem and I believe in brotherhood. And I believe in the brotherhood of all men. But my religion doesn't make me a fool. My religion makes me be against all forms of racism. It keeps me from judging any man by the color of his skin. It teaches me to judge him by his deeds and his conscious behavior. And it teaches me to be for the rights of all human beings, but especially the Afro-American human being, because my religion is a natural religion, and the first law of nature is self-preservation . . .

In 1964, oppressed people all over the world, in Africa, in Asia and Latin America, in the Caribbean, made some progress. Northern Rhodesia threw off the yoke of colonialism and became Zambia, and was accepted into the United Nations, the society of independent governments. Nyasaland became Malawi and was also accepted into the UN, into the family of independent governments. Zanzibar had a revolution, threw out the colonialists and their lackeys and then united with Tanganyika into what is now known as the Republic of Tanzania — which is progress, indeed...

Also in 1964 the oppressed people of South Vietnam, and in that entire Southeast Asia area, were successful in fighting off the legions of imperialism . . . And with all the highly-mechanized weapons of warfare — jets, napalm, battleships, everything else, and they can't put those rice farmers back where they want them . . .

In 1964 this government, subsidizing Tshombe, the murderer of Lumumba, and Tshombe's mercenaries, hired killers from South Africa, along with the former colonial power, Belgium, dropped paratroopers on the people of the Congo, used Cubans, that they had trained, to drop bombs on the people of the Congo with American-made planes — to no avail. The struggle is still going on, and America's man, Tshombe, is still losing.

All of this in 1964. Now, in speaking like this, it doesn't mean that I am anti-American. I am not. I'm not anti-American, or un-American. And I'm not saying that to defend myself. Because if I was that I'd have a right to be that — after what America has done to us. This government should feel lucky that our people aren't anti-American . . . And the whole world would side with us, if we became anti-American. You know, that's something to think about.

But we are not anti-American. We are anti or against what America is doing wrong in other parts of the world as well as here, and what she did in the Congo in 1964 is wrong. It's criminal, criminal. And what she did to the American public, to get the American public to go along with it, is criminal. What she's doing in South Vietnam is criminal. She's causing American soldiers to be murdered every day, killed every day, die every day, for no reason at all. That's wrong. Now, you're not supposed to be so blind with patriotism that you can't face reality. Wrong is wrong, no matter who does it or who says it . . .

Also in 1964, China exploded her bomb, which was a scientific breakthrough for the oppressed people of China who suffered for a long time. I, for one, was very happy to hear that the great people of China were able to display their scientific advancement, their advanced knowledge of science, to the point where a country which is as backward as *this* country keeps saying China is, and so behind everybody, and so poor, could come up with an atomic bomb. Why, I had to marvel at that. It made me realize that poor people can do it as well as rich people.

So all these little advances were made by oppressed people in other parts of the world during 1964. These were tangible gains, and the reason that they were able to make these gains — they realized that power was the magic word — power against power. Power in defense of freedom is greater than power in behalf of tyranny and oppression, because power, real power, comes from conviction which produces action, uncompromising action. It also produces insurrection against oppression. This is the only way you end oppression — with power.

Power never takes a back step — only in the face of more power. Power doesn't back up in the face of a smile, or in the face of a threat, or in the face of some kind of non-violent loving action. It's not the nature of power to back up in the face of anything but some more power. And this is what the people have realized in Southeast Asia, in the Congo, in Cuba, in other parts of the world. Power recognizes only power, and all of them who realize this have made gains.

Now here in America it's different. When you compare our strides in 1964 with strides that have been made forward by people elsewhere all over the world, only then can you appreciate the great doublecross experienced by black people here in America. In 1964, the power structure started out the new year the same way they started it out in Washington the other day. Only now they call it — what's that? — "The Great Society." Last year, 1964, was supposed to be the "Year of Promise." They opened up the new year in Washington D.C., and in the City Hall and in Albany talking about the Year of Promise . . .

March on Washington

But by the end of 1964 we had to agree that instead of the year of promise, instead of these promises materializing, they substituted devices to create the illusion of progress and 1964 was the Year of Illusion and Delusion. We received nothing but a promise . . . In 1963 they had used the trick, one of their devices to let off the steam across the nation, was the March on Washington. They used that to make us think we were making progress. Imagine marching to Washington and getting nothing for it whatsoever . . .

In '63 it was the March on Washington. In '64, what was it? The Civil Rights Bill. Right after they passed the Civil Rights Bill they murdered a Negro in Georgia and did nothing about it, murdered two whites and a Negro in Mississippi and did nothing about it. So that the Civil Rights Bill has produced nothing where we're concerned. It was only a valve, a vent, that was designed to enable

us to let off our frustrations. But the Bill, itself, was not designed to solve our problems.

Since we see what they did in 1963, and we saw what they did in 1964, what will they do now, in 1965? If the March on Washington was supposed to lessen the explosion, and the Civil Rights Bill was designed to lessen the explosion — that's all it was designed to do — it wasn't designed to solve the problems. It was designed to lessen the explosion, because everyone in his right mind knows there should have been an explosion. You can't have all those ingredients, those explosive ingredients that exist in Harlem and elsewhere where our people suffer and not have an explosion. So these are devices to lessen the danger of the explosion, but not designed to remove the material that's going to explode.

What will they give us in 1965? I just read where they planned to make a black cabinet member. Yes, they have a new gimmick every year. They're going to take one of their boys, black boys, and put him in the cabinet so he can walk around Washington with a cigar — fire on one end and fool on the other.

And because his immediate personal problem will have been solved, he will be the one to tell our people how much progress we're making: "I'm in Washington, D.C. I can have tea in the White House. I'm your spokesman, I'm your, you know, your leader" . . . But will it work? Can that one, whom they are going to put down there, step into the fire and and put it out when the flames begin to leap up? When people take to the streets in their explosive mood? Will that one that they're going to put in the cabinet, be able to go among those people? Why, they'll burn him faster than they burn the ones who sent him.

Atlantic City

On the national scale during 1964, as I just mentioned, politically, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party had its face slapped at Atlantic City, at a convention over which Lyndon B. Johnson was the boss, and Hubert Humphrey was the next boss and Mayor Wagner had a lot of influence himself; still none of that influence was shown in any way whatsoever when the hopes and aspirations of the people, the black people of Mississippi, were at stake.

Though at the beginning of '64 we were told that our political life would be broadened, it was in 1964 that the two white civil-rights workers, working with the black civil-rights worker, were murdered . . . They were trying to show our people in Mississippi how to become registered voters. This is their crime. This was the reason for which they were murdered.

And the most pitiful part about them being murdered was the civil-rights organizations themselves being so chicken when it comes to reacting in the way that they should have reacted to the murder of these three civil-rights workers. The civil-rights groups sold those three brothers out — sold them out — sold them right down the river. Because they died and what has been done about it? And what voice is being raised every day today in regards to the murder of those three civil-rights workers? . . .

So this is why I say if we get involved in the civil-rights movement and go to Mississippi, or anyplace else, to help our people get registered to vote, we intend to go prepared. We don't intend to break the law but when you're trying to register to vote you're up-holding the law. It's the one who tries to prevent you from registering to vote who's breaking the law and you got a right to protect yourself by any means necessary. Then if the government doesn't want civil-rights groups going equipped, the government should do its job.

Concerning the Harlem incident that took place during the summer when the citizens of Harlem were attacked in a pogrom (I can't pronounce it 'cause it's not my word) . . . We had gotten the word that there were elements in the power structure that were going to incite a riot — something in Harlem that they could call a riot — in order that they could step in and be justified in using whatever measures necessary to crush the militant groups which were still considered in the embryonic stage.

And realizing that there was a plan afoot to instigate something in Harlem so they could step in and crush it, there were elements in Harlem who were prepared and qualified and equipped to retaliate in situations like that, who purposely did not get involved. And the real miracle of the Harlem explosion was the restraint exercised by the people of Harlem. The miracle of 1964, I'll tell it to you straight, the miracle of 1964, during the incidents that took place in Harlem was the restraint exercised by the people in Harlem who are qualified and equipped and whatever else there is to protect themselves when they are being illegally and immorally and unjustly attacked.

An illegal attack, an unjust attack and an immoral attack can be made against you by anyone. Just because a person has on a uniform does not give him the right to come and shoot up your neighborhood. No, this is not right and my suggestions would be that as long as the police department doesn't use those methods in white neighborhoods, they shouldn't come to Harlem and use it in our neighborhood . . .

And it all started when a little boy was shot by a policeman and he was turned loose the same as the sheriff was turned loose in Mississippi when he killed the three civil-rights workers . . .

So that I point out that 1964 was not a pie-in-the-sky year of promise as was promised in January of that year. Blood did flow in the streets of Harlem, Philadelphia, Rochester, some places over here in Jersey and elsewhere. In 1965 even more blood will flow. More than you ever dreamed. It'll flow downtown as well as uptown. Why? Why will it flow? Have the causes that forced it to flow in '64 been removed? Have the causes that made it flow in '63 been removed? The causes are still there...

In 1964, 97 per cent of the black American voters supported Lyndon B. Johnson, Hubert Humphrey and the Democratic Party. Ninety-seven per cent! No one minority group in the history of the world has ever given so much of its uncompromising support to one candidate and one party. No one people, no one group has ever gone all the way to support a party and its candidate as did the people, the black people, in America in 1964 . . .

And the first act of the Democratic Party, Lyndon B. included, in 1965, when the representatives from the state of Mississippi who refused to support Johnson came to Washington, D.C., and the black people of Mississippi sent representatives there to challenge the legality of these people being seated, what did Johnson say? Nothing! What did Humphrey say? Nothing! What did Robert Pretty-Boy Kennedy say? Nothing! Nothing! Not one thing! These are the people that black people have supported. This is the party that they have supported...

The frustration of these black representatives from Mississippi when they arrived in Washington, D.C., the other day, thinking, you know, that the Great Society was going to include them — only to see the door close in their face like that. That's what makes them think. That's what makes them realize what they're up against. It is this type of frustration that produced the Mau Mau. They reached the point where they saw that it takes power to talk

to power. It takes power to make power respect you. It takes madness almost to deal with a power structure that's so corrupt — so corrupt.

So 1965 should see a lot of action. Since the old methods haven't worked, they'll be forced to try new methods . . .

(The following are excerpts from the question and discussion period.)

The gentleman asks me if I believe in political action — number 1. And if the leftist groups got together and put me up for mayor, would I run . . . I believe in political fiction, yes. Any kind of political action. I believe in action period. Whatever kind of action is necessary. When you hear me say "by any means necessary," I mean exactly that. I believe in anything that is necessary to correct unjust conditions — political, economic, social, physical, anything that's necessary. I believe in it — as long as it's intelligently directed and designed to get results.

But I don't believe in getting involved in any kind of political action or other kind of action without sitting down and analyzing the possibilities of success or failure. And I also don't believe that groups should refer to themselves as "leftists," "rightist," or "middle-ist." I think that they should just be whatever they are and don't let people put labels on them — and don't ever put them on yourself. Sometimes a label can kill you.

The brother wanted to know what practical steps could be taken to confront this unjust situation that exists here in New York and get some meaningful results. The one mistake that has been made in the struggle of the oppressed against the oppressor, is that it's been factionalized too much — too many factions. You've got uptown factions, downtown factions, crosstown factions and some basement factions. Instead of them having any degree of co-ordination toward a common objective, usually they are divided and spend a lot of time either being suspicious of each other, or knocking each other, or even outright fighting each other.

Harlem and Downtown

Whereas you have black people in Harlem who are militant, they don't go for white people downtown too much, no matter how militant they are. Now the blacks who come downtown and mix with the whites who are militant, usually don't even know how to talk to the blacks who are still uptown. I had to bring this out... I've noticed it from observation.

You have all types of people who are fed up with what's going on. You have whites who are fed up, you have blacks who are fed up. The whites who are fed up can't come uptown too easily 'cause uptown is more fed up than anybody else and they are set up so that it's not so easy to come uptown.

Whereas the blacks uptown who come downtown usually are the type, you know, who almost lose their identity — they lose their soul so to speak — so that they are not in a position to serve as a bridge between the militant whites and the militant blacks — that type can't do it. I hate to hit him like that, but it's true. He has lost his identity, he has lost his feeling and usually — play it cool please—he usually has actually lost his contact with Harlem himself. So that he serves no purpose, he's almost rootless, he's not uptown and he's not fully downtown.

So when the day comes when the whites who are really fed up, I don't mean these jive whites, who pose as liberals and who are not, but those who are fed up with what's going on, when they learn how to really establish the proper type of communication with those uptown who are fed up and they get some co-ordinated action going, you'll get some changes. And it will take both, it will take everything that you've got, it will take that . . .

I think, for one, when a white man comes to me and tells me how liberal he is, the first thing I want to know, is he a non-violent liberal, or the other kind. I don't go for any non-violent white liberals. If you are for me, and my problem — when I say *me*, I mean *us*, our people — then you have to be willing to do as old John Brown did . . .

Interview by Harry Ring over Station WBAI-FM in New York, Jan. 28, 1965

Ring: Many whites who are sympathetic to the Freedom New Movement are generally critical of that section of the movement known as the Black Muslims or Black Nationalists. I think this is due in good measure to the lack of unbiased information as to what those described as Black Nationalists really stand for, and I think this lack of accurate information is the product of a deliberate policy of distortion and misrepresentation by the general news media.

I think, for example, that one of the most misrepresented and maligned public figures in this country today is Malcolm X, leader of the Muslim Mosque, Inc., and chairman of the Organization of Afro-American Unity.

Because I feel his views have been so badly distorted, I have invited Malcolm X to be my guest on this program to ask him some questions to get at what he really believes.

Minister Malcolm, it is just a year since you have been associated with Elijah Muhammad and his Nation of Islam. Have your views changed since then and, if so, can you indicate in what way they have changed?

Malcolm X: Well, I have been traveling and my scope has broadened. For one thing, I believe in the religion of Islam which automatically teaches us the brotherhood of man. Whereas as a follower of Elijah Muhammad. I said that I believed in the religion of Islam but his teaching or version of it was not based upon the brotherhood of man. It was against people just on the basis of their color. But my beliefs now are 100 percent against racism and against segregation in any form and I also believe that in the religion of Islam, as I now understand it, that we don't judge a person by the color of his skin but, rather, by his behavior, by his deeds and we think that this is justified.

Ring: Let me ask you a question about a problem that disturbs many white supporters of the Freedom New Movement. Why do you reject the concept of non-violence?

Malcolm X: Well, we think that when non-violence is taught to the Ku Klux Klan or the White Citizens Council or these other elements that are inflicting extreme brutality against blacks in this country, then we would accept it.

If we're dealing with a non-violent enemy, then we would be non-violent, too. But as long as our people in this country have to face the continued acts of brutality on the part of the racist element in the North as well as in the South, then I don't think that we should be called upon to be non-violent. When they'll get non-violent, we'll get non-violent.

Ring: A week or so ago, Police Commissioner Murphy asserted that the recent warnings of danger of a new outbreak in Harlem could actually provide the fuel for such an outbreak. I know that you were one of those who recently made such a warning. What would you say about this?

Malcolm X: Well, Commissioner Murphy's attitude is one of the things primarily responsible for much of the ill feeling among the races and especially in the black communities like Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant and other places. When he says — when he warns — against anyone mentioning that there is a great chance for continued violence this summer, what he is doing is trying to stick his head in the sand.

His attitude is the same as the American attitude toward the existence of China. The general American attitude is that Americans are supposed to pretend that 700 million Chinese don't exist and that a little island off the coast of China is China. Well now, Commissioner Murphy has this same attitude toward the conditions that exist in the black community. These conditions are so explosive that it is impossible for them to continue to exist without there being violent explosions.

Instead of Police Commissioner Murphy involving himself in some kind of work that will eliminate the causes of these explosions, he wants to condemn the people who are pointing toward the continued existence of these conditions and who at the same time are warning that the continued existence of the causes are going to create the explosions.

So I think that the Police Commissioner is probably the best example of an imbecile. I hate to use this kind of word on your program, but he actually has a very imbecilic approach to the problems that exist in the black community and his continued mouthing of this type of thing will do nothing to better the condition; rather, it makes the condition worse.

Ring: One question that I've wondered about — in several of your lectures you've stressed the idea that the struggle of your people is for human rights rather than civil rights. Can you explain a bit what you mean by that?

Malcolm X: Civil rights actually keeps the struggle within the domestic confines of America. It keeps it under the jurisdiction of the American government, which means that as long as our struggle for what we're seeking is labeled civil rights, we can only go to Washington, D.C., and then we rely upon either the Supreme Court, the President or the Congress or the senators. These senators — many of them are racists. Many of the congressmen are racists. Many of the judges are racists and ofttimes the president himself is a very shrewdly camouflaged racist. And so we really can't get meaningful redress for our grievances when we are depending upon these grievances being redressed just within the jurisdiction of the United States government.

On the other hand, human rights go beyond the jurisdiction of this government. Human rights are international. Human rights are something that a man has by dint of his having been born. The labeling of our struggle in this country under the title civil rights for the past 12 years has actually made it impossible for us to get outside help. Many foreign nations, many of our brothers and sisters on the African continent who have gotten their independence, have restrained themselves, have refrained from becoming vocally or actively involved in our struggle for fear that they would be violating U.S. protocol, that they would be accused of getting involved in America's domestic affairs.

On the other hand, when we label it human rights, it internationalizes the problem and puts it at a level that makes it possible for any nation or any people anywhere on this earth to speak out in behalf of our human rights struggle.

So we feel that by calling it civil rights for the past 12 years, we've actually been barking up the wrong tree, that ours is a problem of human rights.

Plus, if we have our human rights, our civil rights are automatic. If we're respected as a human being, we'll be respected as a citizen; and in this country the black man not only is not respected as a citizen, he is not even respected as a human being.

And the proof is that you find in many instances people can come to this country from other countries — they can come to this country from behind the Iron Curtain — and despite the fact that they come here from these other places, they don't have to have civil-rights legislation passed in order for their rights to be safeguarded.

No new legislation is necessary for foreigners who come here to have their rights safeguarded. The Constitution is sufficient, but when it comes to the black man who were born here — whenever we are asking for our rights, they tell us that new legislation is necessary.

Well, we don't believe that. The Organization of Afro-American Unity feels that as long as our people in this country confine their struggle within the limitations and under the jurisdiction of the United States government, we remain within the confines of the vicious system that has done nothing but exploit and oppress us ever since we've been here. So we feel that our only real hope is to make known that our problem is not a Negro problem or an American problem but rather, it has become a human problem, a world problem, and it has to be attacked at the world level, at a level at which all segments of humanity can intervene in our behalf.

Ring: In the recent debate on the Congo in the United Nations, a number of spokesmen for the African nations condemned the U.S. intervention in the Congo and they likened the United States' role in the Congo to its treatment of the black people in Mississippi. One reporter at least — I believe from the New York Times — said that you were at least in part responsible for the African delegates taking this position.

Malcolm X: I have never taken responsibility or credit, you might say, for the stance taken by the African nations. The African nations today are represented by intelligent statesmen. And it was only a matter of time before they would have to see that they would have to intervene in behalf of 22 million black Americans who are their brothers and sisters.

And it is a good example of why our problem has to be internationalized. Now the African nations are speaking out and linking the problem of racism in Mississippi with the problem of racism in the Congo and also the problem of racism in South Vietnam. It's all racism. It's all part of the vicious racist system that the Western powers have used to continue to degrade and exploit and oppress the people in Africa and Asia and Latin America during recent centuries.

And when these people in these different areas begin to see that the problem is the same problem and when the 22 million black Americans see that our problem is the same as the problem of the

people who are being oppressed in South Vietnam and the Congo and Latin America, then the oppressed people of this earth make up a majority, not a minority. Then we approach our problem then as a majority that can demand, not as a minority that has to beg.

Ring: I noticed that you mentioned the problem of Vietnam. Generally, you're associated with concerning yourself with the problems of black people. How do you see the problem of U.S. intervention in Vietnam as related to the problems of your people?

Malcolm X: It's a problem anytime the United States can come up with so many alibis not to get involved in Mississippi and to get involved in the Congo and involved in Asia and in South Vietnam. Why that, right there, should show our people that the government is incapable of taking the kind of action necessary to solve the problem of black people in this country. But at the same time she has her nose stuck into the problems of others everywhere else.

We see where the problem of Vietnam is the problem of the oppressed and the oppressor. The problem in the Congo is the problem of the oppressed and the oppressor. The problem in Mississippi and Alabama and New York is the problem of the oppressed and the oppressor. The oppressed people all over the world have the same problems and it is only now that they're becoming sufficiently sophisticated to see that all they have to do to get the oppressor off their back is to unite and realize that it is one problem — that our problems are inseparable. And then our action will be inseparable. Our action will be one of unity and in the unity of oppressed people is actually the strength, and the best strength of the oppressed people.

Ring: To get back to the problem of Harlem. I noticed that last week a group of Harlemites who had been without heat and hot water for over a week went down to City Hall and sat down in the mayor's office. A few days later I read that the housing commissioner had decided that the city would make repairs on buildings that required it and bill the landlord.

He made it known — and I had never known this before — that a law had been on the books for many years permitting the city to do this — that they had done it during the depression a few times, but it's never been used since. Now it seems to me that this action by these Harlem tenants brought this about. Do you think that effective gains can be made through this kind of action?

Malcolm X: Definitely. Whenever our people are ready to take any kind of action necessary to get results, they'll get results. They'll never get results as long as they play by the ground rules laid down by the power structure downtown. It takes action to get some action, and this is what our people have to realize. They have to organize and become involved in well coordinated action which will involve any means necessary to bring about complete elimination of the conditions that exist — conditions that are actually criminal. Not only unjust but criminal!

Ring: You've said that your attitude on many questions has changed in the past year. How about your attitude toward the established civil-rights organizations?

Malcolm X: I'm for whatever gets results. I don't go for any organization — be it civil-rights or any other kind — that has to compromise with the power structure and has to rely on certain elements within the power structure for their financing and which puts them in a position to be influenced and controlled all over again by the power structure itself.

I'm for anything that they're involved in that gets meaningful results for the masses of our people — but not for the benefit of a few hand-picked Negroes at the top who get prestige and credit, and all the while the masses' problems remain unsolved.

Ring: But would you support concrete actions of these organizations if you feel they go in the right direction?

Malcolm X: Yes. The Organization of Afro-American Unity will support fully and without compromise any action by any group that is designed to get meaningful immediate results.

Ring: I'm sorry, but that's all we'll have time for. It's been a pleasure to talk to you and I want to wish you every success in your efforts.

Malcolm X: Thank you.

Excerpt from interview in the March-April issue of the 'Young Socialist'

How do you define black nationalism, with which you have been identified?

I used to define black nationalism as the idea that the black man should control the economy of his community, the politics of his community, and so forth.

But, when I was in Africa in May, in Ghana, I was speaking with the Algerian ambassador who is extremely militant and is a revolutionary in the true sense of the word (and has his credentials as such for having carried on a successful revolution against oppression in his country). When I told him that my political, social and economic philosophy was black nationalism, he asked me very frankly, well, where did that leave him? Because he was white. He was an African, but he was Algerian, and to all appearances, he was a white man. And he said if I define my objective as the victory of black nationalism, where does that leave him? Where does that leave revolutionaries in Morocco, Egypt, Iraq, Mauritania? So he showed me where I was alienating people who were true revolutionaries dedicated to overturning the system of exploitation that exists on this earth by any means necessary.

So, I had to do a lot of thinking and reappraising of my definition of black nationalism. Can we sum up the solution to the problems confronting our people as black nationalism? And if you notice, I haven't been using the expression for several months. But I still would be hard pressed to give a specific definition of the overall philosophy which I think is necessary for the liberation of the black people in this country.

What is your opinion of the world-wide struggle now going on between capitalism and socialism?

It is impossible for capitalism to survive, primarily because the system of capitalism needs some blood to suck. Capitalism used to be like an eagle, but now it's more like a vulture. It used to be strong enough to go and suck anybody's blood whether they were strong or not. But now it has become more cowardly, like the vulture, and it can only suck the blood of the helpless. As the nations of the world free themselves, then capitalism has less victims, less to suck, and it becomes weaker and weaker. It's only a matter of time in my opinion before it will collapse completely.

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FD-340 (REV. 8-17-62)

0 3/31/65

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By [redacted]
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Description:

Pamphlet printed by Pioneer Publishers 5 East 3rd Street, NYC. entitled "Two Speeches by Malcolm X".

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Description:

Verification of death of Malcolm X on 2/21/65.

04/5/65 [redacted]

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FD-125 (Rev. 4-3-62)

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☐ Birth ☐ Credit ☐ Criminal ☐ Motor Vehicle ☑ Death ☐ Marriage * ☐ INS

To: Sec 12 b7C	Buded: (Cpp)
Return to: [redacted] #43	File number: 105-8999

Name and aliases [redacted] employer, and spouse

MALCOLM K. LITTLE, MALCOLM X, MALIK EL SHABAZZ

Addresses
Residence: Hotel Theresa NYC — 110th St. EAST ELMHURST —
Business:
Former:

* Date and place of marriage (if applicable):

Race	Sex	Age	Height	Weight	Hair	Eyes
N	☑ Male ☐ Female	39	6'3½"	170 lbs	Reddish-Brown	Brown

Birth date	Birthplace
5-19-25	OMAHA, NEBR.

Arrest Number	Fingerprint classification	Criminal specialty

Specific information desired

Results of check
Was shot + killed 2/21/65.
Need official death notification:
4133

(Use reverse side, if necessary)

No. 4133
Malcolm x (little) aka al Hajj
Malik El Shabazz

23-11 97 St Queens NY

married

DOB 5/19/25 POB Nebraska

father Earl Little
mother - Louise Helen

DoD 2/21/65

Milton Helpern MD chief Medical Examiner
certified death due to multiple shot gun-slugs
& bullet wounds of chest, heart & aorta

reported by wife Betty Shabazz

MO E. 1686

67C

FS [redacted]
3/18/65

See Ser. 6289

NY Enter and return

File Number 105-8999-103(6)

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(name & address of cont[redacted] #43 b7c

By-(name of S[redacted]

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Re: Buffalo Letter dy 3/11/6 - captioned Malcolm X Little. SA-NET

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BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT MALCOLM X LITTLE

FILE NO. NY 105-8999

1B4 ENCLOSURE

Duplicate Green Sheet

NY 105-8999-1134

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235,295

DTC

Bulky Exhibit - Inventory of Prope Acquired as Evidence
FD-192 (Rev. 11-18-64)

Date 6/18/65

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Bufile	Status of Case	Submitting Office	File #
100-399321	P	NY	105-8999-1B4
		Office of Origin: NY	File #: 105-8999

Title and Character of Case

MALCOLM K. LITTLE
IS-MMI

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235 295

Date Property Acquired	Source From Which Property Acquired
SEE BELOW	SEE INDIVIDUAL 1B'S

Location of Property or Bulky Exhibit	Reason for Retention of Property and Efforts Made to Dispose of Same
VAULT	EVIDENCE AND INFORMATION-RETAIN

Description of Property or Exhibit and Identity of Agent Submitting Same

SEE BELOW

(1) 6/18/65. A pamplet entitled "TWO SPEECHES BY MALCOLM X."
(2) " A pamplet entitled "MALCOLM X THE MAN AND HIS IDEAS."
(3) " 1 throwaway sheet captioned "MALCOLM X STATEMENT OF THE HARLEM PROGRESSIVE LABOR CLUB."
(4) " 1 page drawing captioned "THE VOICE OF TRUTH." 67C
NOTE: ALL OF THE ABOVE REC'D 5/20/65 BY SA [redacted] See ser. 6371. [redacted] 67C
(5) 6/24/65 Tape [redacted] Rec'd 4/2/65 67C by SA [redacted] See ser. 6397. [redacted]
(6) " Program of memorial Cultural Tribute to Malcolm X at Rocklard Palace, NYC, 5/19/65 by OAAU. Rec'd by SA [redacted] 6/11/65. [redacted] 67C
(7) 7/7/65 1 negative and 6 photographs of [redacted] (LNU) from NOI NEWARK, N.J.
(8) " 1 negative and 4 photographs of [redacted] (LNU). 67C
(9) " 1 negative and 2 photographs of [redacted] former Lieutenant, NOI Mislim Mosque, Paterson N.J. when Malcolm x was Killed on 2/21/65 at NYC.
NOTE: 1B4(7) thru (9) Rec'd 6/3/65 by SA [redacted] [redacted] 67C (See serial 6394).
(10) 9/13/65. 1 photo of [redacted] with negative. Rec'd 7/19/65 by SA [redacted] See ser. 6414. [redacted] 67C

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43

SEMIANNUAL INVENTORY CERTIFICATION TO JUSTIFY RETENTION OF PROPERTY (Initial and date)

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A pamphlet entitled "Two Speeches By Malcolm X"
6/16/65 [redacted] b7c

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MALCOLM X

The Man and His Ideas

By George Breitman

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A speech delivered to the Friday Night Socialist Forum at Eugene V. Debs Hall in Detroit on March 5, 1965.

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Printed in USA, March, 1968

MALCOLM X

THE MAN AND HIS IDEAS

By George Breitman

It is still painful to speak of the death of Malcolm X. It is probably too soon to appraise him adequately. It will take time before we can do him justice, before we can see him in his full stature. It is painful because with him gone, we momentarily feel smaller, weaker, more vulnerable.

Our sense of loss is for his family, for the movement he was building, for the Negro people, for the revolutionary cause as a whole. There is also something in us that cries out against the fact that he was cut down in his prime, still a young man, before he had made his full contributions to the struggle, before he had accomplished everything he was capable of accomplishing for human emancipation.

I was still a young man 25 years ago when another great revolutionary was assassinated — Leon Trotsky. Perhaps I did not fully realize how much his leadership, advice and political wisdom would be missed, and probably I was under the influence of the belief common among young people that to show certain kinds of strong emotion is a sign of weakness. Anyhow, I did not cry when Trotsky was killed, and I could not help crying when Malcolm was killed.

It was not because I considered Malcolm the greater of the two men. One reason for the difference was the realization that Malcolm, at the age of 39, was still in the process of reaching his full height, still in the process of working out his program, still in the early stage of building a new movement—whereas Trotsky, at the age of 59, had already reached full maturity, had already worked out his main ideas and his program, and left behind him the solid foundations of a movement that could not be destroyed by war, by persecution from both the Allied and Axis powers, or by cold war reaction and witch hunts.

But while it is painful to speak of Malcolm, and not yet possible to see him in full perspective, we are able even now to begin to make an appraisal of his ideas, and of how he came to the ideas that constitute his heritage. When we do this, we must try to put emotion aside, or to bring it under control. That is what Malcolm urged when he spoke here in Detroit three weeks ago—that we learn to think clearly about the struggle and the ways the power structure seeks to curb and sidetrack the struggle; that we think clearly and rely on reason and learn how to see through trickery.

Family Background

Malcolm Little's mother was born as the result of her mother's rape by a white man in the West Indies. When he was four, the house where he and his family lived was burned down by Ku Kluxers. When he was six, his father met a violent death, and he and his family always believed he had been lynched.

The family was broken up. Young Malcolm lived in state institutions and boarding homes. He got high marks at the grade school in Mason, Mich. Then, at the age of 15, he became a dropout. He went to live with his sister in Boston, and went to work at the kinds of jobs available to Negro youth — shoeshine boy, soda jerk, hotel bus boy, member of a dining car crew on trains traveling to New York, restaurant waiter in Harlem. There he drifted into the degrading life of the underworld — gambling, drugs, hustling, burglary. You can find it all described in his autobiography, which will be published soon, up to and including his arrest for burglary, conviction and sentencing to ten years in prison. That was in 1946, when he was not quite 21 years old, the age of many of you in this audience.

Law of the Jungle

What were his ideas then? That life is a jungle, where the fiercest survive — by fleecing the weak and defenseless; where each man looks out for No. 1, which can only be done by accepting the jungle code. "The main thing you got to remember is that everything in the world is a hustle," he was told by the friend who helped him get his first job.

Although his father had been an admirer of Marcus Garvey, feelings of race pride did not exist in the young man with the zoot suit; he tried to straighten his hair in emulation of white men who, as he later said, had taught him what he knew and instilled in him the values of racist white society. I think you can find thousands of youngsters in today's ghetto like the 21-year-old Malcolm Little in 1946.

Conversion in Prison

Prison is hell. Prison is also a place where you can think, where some important decisions have been made. Eugene V. Debs, after whom this meeting hall is named, was converted to socialism while he was in prison in 1895. Prison was where Malcolm underwent a conversion that literally transformed his whole life.

By letters and visits from members of his family he was introduced to the Nation of Islam, headed by Elijah Muhammad. This American religious sect, popularly known as the Black Muslims, worships Allah as god and practices some ritual of the orthodox Muslim religion, with certain variations of its own, especially in the sphere of race.

It teaches that original man, when the world was a paradise, was black, and that white man is a degenerate and inferior offshoot, destined to rule the world for 6,000 years and then be destroyed. The 6,000-year period is now ending, and black people can save themselves from the coming catastrophe only by withdrawing, by separating, from the white man and following Muhammad, the Messenger of Allah.

From a scientific standpoint, Black Muslim mythology is no more and no less fantastic or bizarre than other religions. But the Black Muslims are a *movement* as well as a religious group, providing a kind of haven and hope and salvation for outcasts, encouragement at self-reform, brotherhood and solidarity against a cruel and oppressive world.

I am not going to go into details about the Black Muslims; you can find plenty about it in writing. The point is that Malcolm experienced a genuine religious conversion in prison, believing that Elijah Muhammad was a holy man, and that the Nation of Islam provided a path of salvation not only for him but for his people.

Process of Self-Education

While in prison this dropout after the 8th grade began to educate himself and learn how to speak and debate, so that he could participate more effectively in the movement after he got out. Not knowing how else to proceed, he started with a dictionary, copying into a tablet words beginning with "A" that might be helpful. He was astonished to find so many "A" words, filling a tablet with them alone. He went through to "Z," and then, he writes, "for the first time, I could pick up a book and actually understand what the book was saying." The story speaks volumes about the quality of education in Michigan—and the U. S.

From then until he left prison, he spent all the time he could in the library, "picking up some more books." Within a few years he was to become the most respected debater in the country, taking on one and all — politicians, college professors, journalists, anyone, black or white, bold enough to meet him.

There are tremendous reservoirs of talent and even genius locked up in the black ghettos and white slums, among the masses — which can be set free and put to work when they acquire hope and purpose.

Organizing Ability

After six years in prison, when Malcolm was 27, he won a parole by getting a job with his oldest brother, Wilfred, as a furniture salesman in the Detroit ghetto. That was the spring of 1952. Later that year he traveled to Chicago to hear Elijah Muhammad, and he

met him. He was accepted into the movement and given the name of Malcolm X. He volunteered his organizing services in Detroit, and did so well that he was made assistant minister of the Detroit mosque after the membership had tripled.

At the end of 1963 he went to Chicago to live with Muhammad and be trained by him for some months. Muhammad sent him to Philadelphia, which had no mosque; in less than three months a mosque had been formed. He was obviously a man of unusual talent, energy and devotion. Muhammad picked him to head the movement in New York, and he went back to Harlem in 1954, before he was 30 years old. In a few short years his work helped to transform the Black Muslims from a virtually unnoticed to a nationally very well known organization; and he himself had become one of the country's most noted figures, one of the most desired speakers on the nation's campuses, and the object of admiration by the most militant youth.

Malcolm as Public Speaker

Before proceeding chronologically, I want to say a few words about Malcolm as a public speaker. I am not an expert in this field, and I hope somebody who is will make a study of it. There is certainly plenty of material, thanks to the fact that many of his talks were taped and are readily available.

His speaking style was unique — plain, direct like an arrow, devoid of flowery trimming. He used metaphors and figures of speech that were lean and simple, rooted in the ordinary, daily experience of his audiences. He knew what the masses think and how they feel, their strengths and weaknesses. He reached right into their minds and hearts without wasting a word; and he never tried to flatter them. Despite an extraordinary ability to move and arouse his listeners, his main appeal was to reason, not to emotion.

This is true even about speeches where he was presenting ideas that he had abandoned in the last year of his life, such as the last great speech he made as a Black Muslim — his speech to the Grass Roots Conference in Detroit in November, 1963, which is on sale from the Afro-American Broadcasting and Recording Co. It is one of his best speeches, although I repeat it does not reflect his thinking at the end, and worth listening and relistening to, because of the qualities I have been trying to pinpoint; and because his main appeal was to reason, he was the very opposite of a demagogue, the very opposite of what the kept press called him.

It was also a style very different from Elijah Muhammad's. I don't mean only that Malcolm commanded the weapons of wit and humor, which are alien to Muhammad. Muhammad's appeal was to faith, to authority (divine authority), to the hereafter; Malcolm's appeal was to reason, to logic; it dealt with the real and the present, even when he was expounding Muhammad's line. To be able to listen to Muhammad for any length of time you had to be a believer, convinced in advance, while Malcolm seemed to achieve his greatest success with non-Muslims.

These few remarks about Malcolm as a speaker are admittedly inadequate; I make them only in the hope of interesting someone more qualified than I to study and write about it. I wanted only to convey the idea that there rarely has been a man in America better able to communicate ideas to the most oppressed people; and that this was not just a matter of technique, which can be learned and applied in any situation by almost anybody, but that it was the rare case of a man in closest communion with the oppressed, able to speak to them because he spoke for them, because he identified himself with them, an authentic expression of their yearning for freedom, a true product of their growth in the same way that Lenin was a product of the Russian people.

Split With Muhammad

We come now to the end of the second period of Malcolm's life, 1963, and the split with Muhammad which was consummated in March, 1964. The year 1963 was a year of stirring and movement in the Negro struggle, with hundreds of thousands in the streets; the year that the struggle moved from the South to the Northern ghettos, where the Black Muslims were strongest. It was not yet a revolution, but a prelude to revolutionary struggles. This was the situation that sharpened a dilemma and then produced a crisis in the Black Muslims.

By their militant stance, they had helped to push other Negro organizations to the left. This was their positive contribution. But they were on the sidelines of the struggle, not participants. They talked in angry tones, but did nothing when non-Muslim Negroes were under attack. They were separated not only from whites but from Negro militants.

Among the members, younger and less conservative than in the pre-Malcolm period, signs could be detected of a desire to get into the battle, to pass from propaganda to action. Muhammad tried to allay the ferment; one example was his call, at the organization's national convention in February, 1963, for independent black political action. But he soon pulled back from this and other moves that might have drawn the Black Muslims out of their abstentionism. When the Freedom Now Party was started six months later, he refused to endorse it or let the members join.

The occasion for the split was a remark made by Malcolm after Kennedy's death in November, 1963, followed by Muhammad's silencing of Malcolm with a virtual suspension that was humiliating and deliberately intended to be humiliating. But this was only the occasion, not the cause. The basic factor behind the split was the growth of militancy and mass action in the Negro community, and the different ways in which the two main tendencies in the Black Muslims wanted to respond to the masses knocking on the doors of their mosques.

Growth and Development

There is an instructive relation between the way Malcolm came into the Black Muslims and the way he left. He turned to them from a state

of isolation, not only the physical isolation of prison, but an alienation from society generally and from his own people as well. His years in the Black Muslims had been good for the organization, and they were good for him. He had traveled all over the country as Muhammad's chief trouble-shooter, and he knew the ghetto nationally as no one else did. His vision had broadened, his interests had widened.

He entered the Black Muslims because he was alone and lost, and he left, you could say, because now he was in closest touch with the Negro people, attuned to their needs and wants more than the Black Muslims were or wanted him to be; because he was becoming the spokesman of a growing multitude looking for a new road; because he had found a new role, or rather because a new role had been thrust upon him, which his whole life's experience told him he had to accept, however difficult it would be.

It could not have been an easy decision. Consider the circumstances: 38 years old; a wife and several dependent children; a secure post, relatively well paid, home provided, car provided, expenses; great prestige; a position in an organization second in authority to a man in his late sixties who was not in good health. Some men in his place would have taken the easy way—keep quiet, do as you are told, stay out of the line of fire, mend your fences, and wait. That's the American way—in business, government, church, fraternal and labor circles.

Essence of the Change

But Malcolm was not that kind of man. He had been disturbed to see that Muhammad and some of his ministers were, like other preachers of puritanism, not living in accord with the strict puritanical code they prescribed for the rank-and-file Black Muslims. He tried to overlook things like this—his eyes were mainly turned to the outside world of the broad Negro struggle. He was not the only minister who knew that new, bolder and more active policies were needed if the Black Muslims were to fulfill their real responsibilities to the Negro people. But the other ministers who recognized the need for change—they played it safe. They weren't Malcolm X.

Malcolm had what can be called a second re-birth early in 1964 when he decided his place was with the Negro masses more than with Muhammad's organization. As a Black Muslim leader, he had rejected corrupt American society. Now he passed from merely rejecting it (a negative, passive position) to rebelling against it and organizing to change it (a positive, active position). That was the essence of the change

Some ultra-lefts in the Negro community did not understand this and talked condescendingly about Malcolm's becoming "weak" or "soft." But the American ruling class and its spokesmen understood what was happening, and they were more hostile to him after the split than before. And they had greater reason to hate and fear him after he set out to build a new movement. That is why, as William F. Warde puts it, he "was crucified by the paid press long before he was martyred by the assassin's bullets."

Abiding Beliefs

We have heard the expression, "the new Malcolm X." It is appropriate in some ways, misleading in others. Some of his ideas did change starting last March, but others did not. Let us at least mention the latter before examining the former.

That Negroes can get their freedom only by fighting for it;

That the government is a racist government and is not going to grant freedom;

That gradualism, the program of the liberals, white and black, is not the road to equality;

That Uncle Toms must be exposed and opposed;

That Negroes must rely on themselves and control their own struggle;

That Negroes must determine their own strategy and tactics;

That Negroes must select their own leaders.

—These are ideas that Malcolm believed before he left the Black Muslims, and that he still believed the day he died.

A More Democratic Movement

In approaching the immensely difficult and exhausting job of building a new movement, in opposition to new as well as old enemies—a task which radicals should best be able to understand and sympathize with—Malcolm showed from the start that he did not want merely a replica of the Black Muslim structure plus some modifications in policy. He wanted a different kind of organization, with a different kind of relation between the leaders and ranks.

The Black Muslims built everything around a mystique of leadership, faith in and submission to a divine, all-wise chief. That Malcolm wanted something radically different could be seen from the statement he made at his first press conference after the split. He denied that he was "expert in any particular field." He called for help in the form of ideas and suggestions from all quarters, especially students, white or black.

He not only accepted advice, but sought it. He not only invited criticism, but welcomed it. I am aware of one such case personally. I never met Malcolm or saw him in person, but I wrote many articles about him, most of them supporting and defending him. It was typical of him, I think, that the only one of these articles about which he sent me a message of appreciation was the one that was most critical of some implications in a speech he had made.

When he read something useful or pertinent to the problems of his organization, he would go out of his way to get copies for his fellow leaders so that they could read and think about it and develop informed and collective attitudes. On the day he was killed, he was scheduled to present for discussion his ideas on the program of the Organization of Afro-American Unity. It is plain that he was trying to build a far more democratic organization and a far more collective leadership than the Black Muslims ever dreamed of. This is evident also from the fact that he did not fear to associate with radicals and refused to bar them from the organization, despite the discontent of some of the more conservative members.

Thinking for Himself

Malcolm's courage was not only physical, but intellectual. We can appreciate its magnitude only if we fully understand the degree of his dependence on and subordination to Muhammad before the split. For more than 12 years, for most of his adult life, he had been to Muhammad like a son to a father—no, more than that, for few sons are so voluntarily and so long obedient. And then, with very little advance notice, he was on his own. Three days before his death he told a *N. Y. Times* interviewer:

"I was the spokesman for the Black Muslims. I believed in Elijah Muhammad more strongly than Christians do in Jesus. I believed in him so strongly that my mind, my body, my voice functioned 100 per cent for him and the movement. My belief led others to believe." In Contrast, he continued. "I feel like a man who has been asleep somewhat and under someone else's control. I feel what I'm thinking and saying now is for myself. Before, it was for and by the guidance of Elijah Muhammad. Now I think with my own mind, sir."

To think with his own mind—that is what all the forces at the command of the ruling class in this country are organized to discourage and prevent the Negro from doing. You need intellectual as well as physical courage to think and say things for yourself, to think new thoughts, to search out ideas that have been forbidden by the ruling class, to seek them among the Mau Mau in Kenya or the Simbas in the Congo. That is the true mark of an open, honest and free mind—and of a revolutionary leader.

Religion and Black Unity

Malcolm remained a believer in Islam after the split with Muhammad, but it was in the official and orthodox Islam after his trip to Mecca last year. He praised Muhammad even as he left his organization, thinking or hoping that friction with the Black Muslims could be avoided while he turned his attention to the broad Negro struggle. With the advantage of hindsight, we can see this hope was unfounded. An independent movement of the Malcolm X type was a threat to *every* vested interest in the country, *every* privileged hierarchy. And it did not take long for Muhammad to launch ruthless and slanderous attacks designed to isolate Malcolm, because he feared that otherwise he would be deserted by his own members. Perhaps Malcolm might still be alive if he had realized from the start how much he imperiled the status quo, and had acted and prepared differently. This we don't know, can't know.

Malcolm believed in black unity after as well as before the split. But as a Black Muslim, what he meant and had to mean was black unity under the leadership and control of Muhammad, and with unquestioning acceptance of his religious dogmas and discipline. The kind of black unity Malcolm sought after the split was the unity of all Negroes, whatever their religions, whatever their philosophies, so long as they were ready to fight for freedom.

It was a movement away from religious sectarianism toward non-sectarian mass action. But this aim could not be fulfilled by his first organizational step at the time of the split—the founding of the Muslim Mosque, Inc. As a religious organization, it would obviously be limited in its appeal. Malcolm soon corrected this by forming the broad Organization of Afro-American Unity. The selection of a religious group first showed how closely he was tied to his past even one year ago; the addition of the OAAU not many weeks later showed how rapidly he was able to transcend the limitations carried over from his past.

The Question of Self-Defense

We must spend some time on the issue of self-defense, or, as the press called it, "violence." We have to spend it, although the truth is so obvious, because the press centered their attacks around this issue.

Malcolm always was for self-defense—in his teens, when he was part of the underworld; when he was a Black Muslim; and in his last year. In each of these three periods, however, the idea had a different content for him. The Black Muslims say you have the right to defend yourself when attacked, and that this right is granted by Allah and his messenger. Malcolm validated the right on political and constitutional grounds; he brought it down from heaven to earth. The Black Muslims defend themselves, but Malcolm went further and said all Negroes should defend themselves; with him the right became specific, concrete and practical. The difference was apparent when Muhammad's first attack on Malcolm revolved around Malcolm's advocacy of defensive rifle clubs.

Seeing many students in the audience, I shall try to convey my point this way. Let me suggest that one or several of you prepare a research paper on the subject: "How the Press Reported Malcolm X's Views on Violence." It would be very enlightening. It would give you insight, through one example, of the way 99 per cent of the American people get the "information" on the basis of which they form their ideas. It would illuminate more than the single example; it would reveal some basic features of American society as a whole and how it is controlled through propaganda posing as news or fact.

Curtain of Distortion

As a model for such a research paper on Malcolm and violence, I recommend a recent book called *A Curtain of Ignorance* by Felix Greene, a journalist familiar with China. What it does is compare the facts about China with what the American press has been writing about China for the past 15 years. The result is devastating. I will read but one example:

In 1963 Mao Tse-tung issued, at the suggestion of Robert F. Williams, a statement on racial discrimination in the U.S. The key sentence said:

"I call upon the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, enlightened elements of the bourgeoisie, and other enlightened persons of all colors, white, black, yellow, brown, etc., to unite to oppose racial discrimination practiced by U.S. imperialism and to support

the American Negroes in their struggle against racial discrimination."

Here is how the *Christian Century* (and many other publications in this country) described that statement:

"A summons to colored peoples to unite in war against the white race was issued from Peking in the name of Mao Tse-tung. His call for worldwide racial war reflects a degree of hate and desperation which can only be described as psychotic."

The writer of my proposed research paper will find Greene's book useful because *exactly* the same method was used with Malcolm's statements on violence. And its use was no more accidental in one case than in the other.

Those of you who heard Malcolm know that he did not advocate violence; he advocated that Negroes defend themselves when attacked. He said it 100-times, he said it 1,000 times. He said that he was opposed to violence and wanted to stop it, and that Negroes could contribute to stopping it by letting the attackers know they would defend themselves. He could have said it 1,000,000 times and the readers of the American press still would not have known the truth.

The Times' Editorial

Take the *N. Y. Times*. This is supposed to be the best daily paper in the country, in the world. Urbane, sophisticated, liberal on certain civil liberties and civil rights questions. But it hated Malcolm with a fury I cannot recollect it showing to anyone else in the 30 years I have been reading it. The mask slipped the day Malcolm was killed, and the ugly face of American capitalism showed through in the editorial that appeared the next morning. There is a Latin saying: *Speak nothing but good about the dead.* The *Times'* approach to Malcolm was: *Speak nothing good about the dead, and if you must, twist it to make it look bad.*

"He was a case history, as well as an extraordinary and twisted man, turning many true gifts to evil purpose," says the *Times* editorial. ("Case history" and "twisted" is their way of saying Malcolm was mentally unbalanced. So he was insane, and evil to boot.)

". . . his ruthless and fanatical belief in violence . . . marked him for fame, and for a violent end." (So his alleged belief is linked to his death, in some kind of cause-and-effect relation; he was responsible for his own murder.)

". . . he did not seek to fit into society or into the life of his own people . . . The world he saw through those horn-rimmed glasses of his was distorted and dark. But he made it darker still with his exaltation of fanaticism. Yesterday someone came out of that darkness that he spawned and killed him." (The darkness that *he* spawned! So Malcolm was not only mad and evil, he also possessed magical power—he made himself look like 39, but he must have been at least 350 years old to have "spawned" racial violence.) The editorial concludes with the magnanimous concession that the murder "demands an investigation." Not because it was a criminal act, but because it "could easily touch off a war of vengeance of the kind he himself fomented."

The Logic of Racism

Now why is this? Suppose that I, a so-called white man, or any white person, went downtown and stood on a box and said, "White people should defend themselves *when attacked.*" Would I be branded an advocate of violence, a racist or a fanatic? No, the worst I would be called would be a nut.

And if a white person got up there after me and said, "White people should defend their interests when they are attacked in Cuba or Vietnam by sending invasion armies or 160 bombers," would the press condemn him as a fomenter of violence, or a racist fanatic? No, some would say, "Of course, it goes without saying," and others would declare, "That man belongs in the White House." The White House, not the nuthouse.

What is the difference? The difference is that black people, not whites, are being attacked or are subject to attack. And the very thought of someone encouraging Negroes to defend themselves makes the apologists for American racism see red, or black. So much so that they can hardly work up the pretence that they are in any way unhappy about Malcolm's murder. This difference shows beyond doubt how permeated with racism this country and its press are. The only other country in the world with such phobias and psychoses is South Africa.

It is too bad that so much time has to be spent explaining such obvious truths, because Malcolm's stand on this issue was not the central part of his philosophy—just the most controversial. It was an indispensable part of his program, for how can anyone expect to win freedom unless he is willing to defend his person, rights and property against violence designed to terrorize and silence him? But it was not a central part, and is not, by itself, the solution to the Negro's problems. Even when Negroes organize for self-defense, as they should and inevitably will, they will still not be free, because inequality is built into this society, in every warp and woof; the system itself exudes and perpetuates inequality.

The Question of Race

Next is the question of race. Here Malcolm made a very pronounced change in his thinking. Partly through the influence of Islam, a religion which views and treats all races alike, and partly through his contact with revolutionaries in many countries, he threw overboard the whole Black Muslim mythology about superior and inferior races and its doctrine about inherent evil and degeneracy in a white skin.

Repudiating racism in all forms, he resolved to judge men and movements on the basis of their deeds, not their color or race. Deeds, not words; and he was pretty shrewd about distinguishing between the two, as in the case of white liberals (or black liberals, for that matter). He developed an historical approach to racism. He knew American whites had been conditioned, miseducated and infected on race worse than most European whites, for example, and he remained more on guard with Americans. He distinguished in similar way

between the older and younger white generations in America.

When Young Socialist Alliance leaders interviewed him and asked what he considered to be the cause of race prejudice, he didn't give anything resembling the Black Muslim position. "Ignorance and greed," he replied. A scientific socialist of any race might turn the three words around, saying "Greed and ignorance," and might expand on the theme at greater length, but would not say anything essentially different. "You can't have capitalism without racism," he said on an earlier occasion.

A True Internationalist

Malcolm had been abroad before his break with Muhammad, but only briefly, carrying out assignments for Muhammad, not on his own. But after the break in 1964 he traveled to and through Africa and the Mid East twice, spending almost half of his remaining life abroad—studying, searching, discussing, learning, seeking help and giving it. And when he returned he was not just a sympathizer of the colonial revolution, but a staunch internationalist, on the side of the oppressed and exploited masses of the world against their oppressors and exploiters, whose central fountainhead he recognized to be U.S. imperialism, the dominant force in what he called the international power structure. No one in the world denounced the U.S. role in the Congo more forcefully and effectively.

One purpose of his trips was of course to mobilize African support behind the project to put the U.S. government on trial in the United Nations for the continued oppression of American Negroes, with which he had limited success. But the State Department credited him, or rather blamed him, for a good part of the strong stand against U.S. imperialism taken by African nations in the UN at the time of the latest atrocities in the Congo. As he knew, the CIA and similar agencies take an interest in what the State Department doesn't like. Those who heard him in Detroit the week before his murder knew about his hope to unite the many millions of the oppressed in Latin America and the Caribbean together with their Afro-American brothers and sisters against their common exploiter.

So he was simultaneously broadening his horizons and zeroing in on American imperialism—this product of the segregated, locked-in ghetto who broke through and over the walls of national boundary and race to become an internationalist; this internationalist who admired John Killens' definition of a patriot: "Dignity was his country, Manhood was his government, and Freedom was his land."

Political Action

In the area of political action Malcolm was also far ahead of the Black Muslims. That didn't take much doing, since they abstain from politics. He favored Negroes organizing politically and running and electing their own candidates, and driving out of office black stooges of the major parties. He participated in a Harlem conference on independent political action two months before his death.

But his position on politics was largely general. He said he found some good in what the Freedom Now Party was doing, and while he

was in Africa last summer he briefly gave consideration to an offer that he run on the Michigan FNP ticket for the U.S. Senate; he decided instead to remain in Africa longer. However, he never affiliated with the FNP, for reasons not discussed publicly; maybe he thought the FNP was premature or launched without sufficient groundwork on too narrow a basis.

But while his thinking on politics was still in a process of development, and uncompleted, there was nothing general or tentative about his attitude to the capitalist parties and the two-party system. To him they were both enemies of the Negro people, currently as well as historically, and neither merited an iota of support from Negroes. He had nothing but contempt for the Communist Party's support of Johnson in 1964.

While he did not endorse Clifton DeBerry, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, he did attack both of DeBerry's major opponents; and in his own way made it easier for DeBerry to get a hearing from Harlem audiences, thus indicating a measure of sympathy. He said he would be willing under certain conditions to consider running as an independent candidate for mayor of New York against the Democratic and Republican candidates in 1965. In terms of the political spectrum he stood on the radical side, although he had not reached strong conclusions about how to organize independent black political power.

The Question of Alliances

The speech Malcolm had started to make when he was shot down was to deal with the program of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, and of the militant black movement generally. We know that he had been thinking about the question of "alliances," the question of the independent Negro movement's relations with other forces in this country, and that he had circulated among other OAAU leaders literature dealing with some aspects of this subject.

Even if we did not know that, it would be logical to assume that he would touch on this question, because no organization defines itself and clarifies its own program and perspectives without simultaneously defining its relations to its enemies and its friends, present or potential. Now we may never know where his thinking had led him on this point, and can only speculate. But even speculation can be oriented by some definite facts.

At his first press conference last March, Malcolm had this to say on the question of alliances:

"Whites can help us, but they can't join us. There can be no black-white unity until there is first some black unity. There can be no workers solidarity until there is first some racial solidarity. We cannot think of uniting with others, until we have first united among ourselves."

This, as I pointed out at that time, is not the statement of a man claiming that black and white working class solidarity is unnecessary, or that it is impossible. On the contrary, it is the statement of a man explaining one of the conditions through which workers solidarity may be achieved on a broad and durable basis. And if I may quote my-

self for one more sentence, I noted:

"Revolutionary socialists will certainly agree (with Malcolm) that a meaningful and mutually beneficial labor-Negro alliance will not be forged until the Negro people are organized independently and strongly enough, numerically and ideologically, to assure that their interests cannot be subordinated or sold out by the other partner or partners in any alliance."

The subject must have come up often during his subsequent travels abroad, where his ideas were strongly influenced during his last year. But he stuck to his position. When he spoke at a Militant Labor Forum panel in New York last May, he said:

"In my recent travels into the African countries and others, it was impressed upon me the importance of having a working unity among all peoples, black as well as white. But the only way this is going to be brought about is the Negroes have to be in unity first."

So far as I have been able to learn, that remained Malcolm's position to the end. He was not opposed to alliances with other forces, including labor, provided they were the right kinds of alliances and provided the Negro part of the alliance was independently organized, so that it could guard against betrayal by being able to pull out of any alliance that went bad.

There is no doubt whatever in my mind that Malcolm would have favored an independent mass black movement making alliances with a radicalized mass labor movement when conditions produced two such components for an alliance. I have no doubt about it because he was willing, even now, in the absence of two such mass movements, to collaborate with radical whites under certain conditions. A man willing to collaborate with numerically weak radical forces, as I will try to show Malcolm was, would have to be out of his mind not to collaborate with mass radical forces. And whatever the *N. Y. Times* and *Muhammad Speaks* say, Malcolm was not out of his mind.

On Capitalism and Socialism

Next let us consider briefly Malcolm's attitudes to capitalism and socialism. In the *Young Socialist* interview he stated:

"It is impossible for capitalism to survive, primarily because the system of capitalism needs some blood to suck. Capitalism used to be like an eagle, but now it's more like a vulture . . . and can only suck the blood of the helpless. As the nations of the world free themselves, then capitalism has less and less victims, less to suck, and it becomes weaker and weaker. It's only a matter of time in my opinion before it will collapse completely."

Marxists might question whether capitalism will collapse, or have to be collapsed, but who can question that in his last months Malcolm was taking an unequivocally anti-capitalist position?

Malcolm did not learn about socialism by reading Marx, but he managed to learn about it anyway. He learned about it from the colonial revolution, especially its pro-socialist contingent. He had discussions with Castro and Che Guevara and Algerian socialists and socialists in Ghana, Guinea, Zanzibar, and elsewhere, including

the United States. When he was asked last May at the Militant Labor Forum what kind of political system he wanted, he said:

"I don't know. But I'm flexible. As was stated earlier, all of the countries that are emerging today from under the shackles of colonialism are turning towards socialism. I don't think it's an accident. Most of the countries that were colonial powers were capitalist countries and the last bulwark of capitalism today is America and it's impossible for a white person today to believe in capitalism and not believe in racism. You can't have capitalism without racism. And if you find a person without racism and you happen to get that person into conversation and they have a philosophy that makes you sure they don't have this racism in their outlook, usually they're socialists or their political philosophy is socialism."

Clifton DeBerry was sitting on the same platform, and took the floor to comment on when and where flexibility was correct: in tactics, yes, but not in relation to the principle that the capitalist system and capitalist parties are enemies of freedom, justice and equality. To which Malcolm replied: "And that's the most intelligent answer I've ever heard on that question."

So I think it fair to say that the legacy of Malcolm is not only plainly anti-capitalist but also pro-socialist. I do not say he was a Marxist—he wasn't—and we can only guess if in his further evolution he would have become one, as Castro did in his later development. But that clearly can be reckoned as a possibility.

Relations with SWP and YSA

A few words about Malcolm's relations with the revolutionary socialists, the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance:

The record is plain about our attitude to Malcolm. We regarded him as one of the most gifted and important leaders of the struggle while he was still a Black Muslim. When he started his own movement, we called it a momentous development that might turn the struggle onto the road to victory, and publicly pledged our aid in the job he was undertaking. For this we got abuse and condemnation from so-called radicals and liberals; our white members were called "white black nationalists" and other names because we supported Malcolm's movement. All this was long before he had said a single word favorable to socialism, and when the image of him in most so-called radical minds was of a man who would rather die than have anything to do with whites, even revolutionary whites.

On the other side was Malcolm's attitude to us. As a Black Muslim he used to buy *The Militant* when it was sold outside his rallies. He later said that even then he urged Negroes to read it. Less than a month after his break with Muhammad, he spoke at the Militant Labor Forum in New York, and publicly praised *The Militant* for telling the truth and wished it success. He spoke for the Militant Labor Forum another two times during the next nine months, after each of his trips abroad. He wasn't even scheduled to speak the second time. His secretary, James Shabazz, was to be part of a panel, but Malcolm phoned and asked if he would be acceptable in James Shabazz's place;

and of course he was.

At most of the OAAU rallies he would put in a plug for *The Militant*, without any solicitation on our part. He smoothed the way for it to be sold at Harlem stands and shops. In January, when he gave his interview to the *Young Socialist*, he discussed with the YSA leaders the probability of his making a tour of the nation's campuses in collaboration with the YSA later this year. He would almost surely have spoken here at Debs Hall for the Friday Night Socialist Forum while making that tour. Black SWP and YSA members were welcome to join his organization; whites associated with *The Militant* were welcome to attend OAAU rallies.

Basis of Collaboration

So our relations were friendly and mutually helpful. On our part, because we believed that he and we were on the same side in the struggle, had the same enemies and were traveling in the same direction. In our 1963 convention resolution, the Socialist Workers Party had stated that black nationalism and revolutionary socialism "are not only compatible but complementary forces, that should be welded closer together in thought and action." We predicted that would happen, and so far as Malcolm and we were concerned, it was beginning to happen.

On his part, I think, collaboration was taking place because he felt that we, unlike the liberals, unlike the Communist Party, unlike the Socialist Party, unlike most white radicals, did not want to subordinate his movement or the Negro struggle generally to the government, to the Democratic Party, to the American labor bureaucrats, to the privileged bureaucrats in non-capitalist countries, or to anyone else; and that we did and do want the Negro movement to attain full independence of program and action and to develop uninterruptedly in an uncompromisingly militant direction along the lines that best suit its needs.

Once Malcolm was convinced of that, and of our sincerity, as evidenced by our readiness to stick by our principles, however unpopular they might be, there was no bar to our collaboration. I want to stress that he would have taken this attitude to any militant group, even non-socialist, provided it was, in its own way, independent of the government and opposed to racism.

Black Nationalism and Separatism

Let us now conclude this discussion of Malcolm's ideas during the last year of his life by examining his positions on black nationalism and separatism. This is important because some political opponents of Malcolm already are circulating distorted stories about him, alleging that he was on the verge of quitting his movement, going over to his opponents, etc. And important also because there may be some ambiguity about his relation to black nationalism as a result of a statement in his interview in the current issue of *Young Socialist*.

Black nationalism and separatism are not the same thing, though unfortunately they are often confused. Separatism is a tendency favoring the withdrawal of Negroes into a separate black nation, either

in America or in Africa. Black nationalism is a tendency for Negroes to unite as a group, as a people, in organizations that are Negro-led and Negro-controlled, and sometimes all-black, in order to fight for their freedom. Black nationalism, as it now exists, does not imply any position on the question of a separate nation in the future, for or against. So you can be a black nationalist without being a separatist, although all separatists are black nationalists.

You will find a much better and longer analysis of this greatly misunderstood distinction in the Socialist Workers Party's 1963 convention resolution, *Freedom Now: The New Stage in the Struggle for Negro Emancipation*, Pioneer Publishers.

Changed Position on Separation

When Malcolm was a Black Muslim, he was of course a separatist. At his first press conference after leaving the Black Muslims last March, he said he was out to build a black nationalist movement, and the major stress was on black nationalism. But he also had a few words to say about separatism. He said he still thought separation was "the best solution"; previously he would have said the *only* solution. "But," he continued, "separation back to Africa is still a long-range program, and while it is yet to materialize, 22 million of our people who are still here in America need better food, clothing, housing, education and jobs *right now*." (His emphasis)

At the time I took this to be a declaration of his intention to build a black nationalist movement that would attempt to unite the Negro people in a fight for immediate needs, while at the same time continuing to hold up separation as a nation as an ultimate objective, and to make propaganda for it accordingly. But I was obviously wrong, because after that statement last March I cannot find any place where Malcolm advocated a separate nation. And on May 21, a few hours after returning from his first trip to Africa, when he was asked at a press conference if he thought Negroes should return to Africa, he said he thought they should stay and fight in the United States for what is rightfully theirs.

Perhaps he thought a separate nation, while desirable, was so far off there was no use talking about it. Perhaps he thought it was a divisive issue impeding black unity. Or perhaps he no longer thought it desirable. In any case, he stopped being a separatist at the time of his break with the Black Muslims, or soon after.

Answer on Black Nationalism

What about his position on black nationalism? Everyone called him a nationalist, friend and foe, and there was no question about it until a few weeks ago. Then he was asked, in the *Young Socialist* interview, "How do you define black nationalism, with which you have been identified?"

He began his answer by saying, "I used to define black nationalism as the idea that the black man should control the economy of his community, the politics of his community, and so forth." That is, he used to define it in the traditional way, as I tried to do a few minutes ago.

The second paragraph of Malcolm's reply, which you can read for yourselves in the *Young Socialist*, relates a discussion he had with a white Algerian revolutionary he met in Ghana last May who sought to convince Malcolm that his self-designation as a black nationalist tended to alienate people "who were true revolutionaries dedicated to overturning the system of exploitation that exists on this earth by any means necessary." His third and final paragraph was:

"So, I had to do a lot of thinking and reappraising of my definition of black nationalism. Can we sum up the solution to the problems confronting our people as black nationalism? And if you notice, I haven't been using the expression for several months. But I still would be hard pressed to give a specific definition of the overall philosophy which I think is necessary for the liberation of the black people in this country."

Reappraisal of a Definition

Please notice: He was reappraising his *definition* of black nationalism and wondering *if* it can be *summed* up as the solution; he had stopped using the term, but he had not yet been able to find another definition for the philosophy necessary for black liberation. Now let me offer what I think is the explanation for all this.

Malcolm had been a black nationalist—it was the starting point for all his thinking, the source of his strength and dynamism. And he remained a black nationalist to his last hour, however uncertain he was about what to *call* himself or the program he was trying to formulate. It would be a bad mistake to mix up what he was with what he thought might be a better name for what he was.

The most urgent need of the Negro people is still the mobilization and unification of the Negro masses into an independent movement to fight for their freedom. Black nationalism is still highly progressive because it contributes to that process and to the creation of that kind of movement.

But black nationalism is a means, not the end; it is a means, but not the only means; it is probably an indispensable means toward the solution, but it is not the whole solution. It helps to build an independent movement, but it does not necessarily provide the program that will lead such a movement to victory.

Types of Black Nationalism

In a series of articles last summer, now being collected in a Pioneer Publishers pamphlet called *Marxism and the Negro Struggle*, I tried to clarify some questions about black nationalism by noting that there are at least two types of black nationalist.

One is the pure-and-simple black nationalist. He is concerned exclusively or primarily with the internal problems of the Negro community, with organizing it, helping it to control the economy of the community, the politics of the community, etc. He is not so concerned with the problems of the total American society, or with the nature of the total society within which the Negro community exists. He has no theory or program for changing that society; for him that's the white man's problem.

Now Malcolm was not that kind of black nationalist, or if he was a year ago, he did not remain that. As he discussed with people in Africa, in the Near East, at the United Nations and in the United States, as he studied and thought and learned, he began to become a black nationalist plus. Plus what? I have already given you many quotations from his speeches and interviews showing that as he studied the economy, the nature of the political and social system of American capitalism, as he developed greater and keener understanding of how this system functions and how the ruling class rules and how racism is a component and instrument of that rule, he came more and more to the conclusion that not only must the Negro control his own community, but that radical changes have to be made in the society as a whole if the Negroes are to achieve their freedom.

Black Nationalism Plus

Black nationalism, yes. But the solution cannot be *summed up* as only black nationalism. Needed is black nationalism plus fundamental social change; black nationalism plus the transformation of the entire society. Whatever difficulty Malcolm may have had in finding the right name, what he was becoming was black nationalist plus revolutionist. (The *Young Socialist* interview shows that he had great respect for that word.)

There are really only three ways in which it is possible to think of the Negro people getting freedom and equality.

One way (notice I said to *think* about getting freedom) is through gradualism: peaceful reform; a little bit now and a little bit more ten years from now. Not Freedom Now, but Freedom Later, which for purposes of Negroes now alive, means Freedom Never. This is the program of Lyndon Johnson, Reuther, King, Wilkins and Rustin. Malcolm, as we know, flatly rejected this approach.

The second way is through separation, through migration to Africa, or through obtaining part of what is now the United States. Malcolm, as I indicated, had turned away from this approach, whatever his reasons may have been for doing so.

The third way—and I repeat there are only these three ways, there are no other—is through the revolutionary reorganization of society, by basically changing the economy, political structure, laws and educational system, and by replacing the present capitalist ruling class with a new government instituted by the forces that are opposed to racism and determined to uproot it.

Approaching a New Synthesis

From the quotations I read you before about what Malcolm was saying about capitalism and socialism and racism, it is clear that Malcolm tended to favor this third approach, or at least had his eyes turned in that direction. He wasn't sure *if* it could be done, and he wasn't sure *how* it could be done, but he was thinking about it and how it fitted into the program and activity of the Organization of Afro-American Unity.

This, I believe, correctly explains his uncertainty about what to call himself. He was a black nationalist plus, a black nationalist plus a

social revolutionist, or in the process of becoming one.

Socialists should be the last to be surprised at such a development. We have for some time been stressing the tendency of nationalism to grow over into and become merged with socialism; we have seen just that transformation occur in Cuba with Castro and his movement, which began as nationalist. We have argued against many opponents that the logical outcome of black nationalism in a country like ours is to reach the most advanced, most radical social and political conclusions. That is why we have advocated and predicted that black nationalists and revolutionary socialists can, should and will find ways of working together.

Malcolm's uncertainty about the right name arises from the fact that he was doing something new—he was on the road to a synthesis of black nationalism and socialism that would be fitting for the American scene and acceptable to the masses in the black ghetto. He did not complete the synthesis before he was murdered. It remains for others to complete what he was beginning.

He Will Be Replaced

Now he is dead, taken from us at what might have been the most important and fruitful year of his life.

Let us not deceive ourselves. It was a stunning blow, as Frank Lovell said at last week's memorial meeting of the Afro-American Broadcasting Co., it was a stunning blow to the Negro people and to those white Americans who want to eradicate the system that breeds racism. Men like Malcolm do not appear often, or in great numbers. The enemies of human progress benefit from his death, the fighters for human progress are weakened and hurt by it.

But a stunning blow to the struggle does not destroy the struggle. Malcolm will not easily be replaced. But he will be replaced. The capitalist system breeds not only racism, but rebels against racism, especially among the youth. Malcolm cannot be replaced overnight, but meanwhile we all can and should strive harder, work harder, fight harder, unite more closely to try to fill the gap left by the death of this man we loved, and give help and encouragement to those destined to replace him.

* * *

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Description: Sheet
One (1) Throwaway captioned "Malcolm X Statement of the Harlem Progressive Labor Club"

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JUN 1965
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MALCOLM X

STATEMENT OF THE HARLEM PROGRESSIVE LABOR CLUB

The assassination of Malcolm X, on orders from the white ruling class, brings the black freedom movement to the crossroads. The movement can either capitulate to the white profit princes, resort to bitter, meaningless fratricidal strife, or organize a powerful mass movement based on those positive political positions advanced by Malcolm and others. The deep sorrow and bitterness of our people should be turned against the oppressors of the black people—the white bosses and their police state apparatus.

Malcolm's killing is another in the long series of repression against militant black leaders. The main target is black workers. The power structure lives in mortal fear that millions of black workers will unite under revolutionary leadership to assume control of their own destiny.

In recent years, the rulers of this country have been resorting to more and more open terror to preserve their shaky profit system.

Murder and assassination have become almost standard procedure for the big business class. Victims have included the children in the Birmingham

ASSASSINATED BY RULING CLASS... Malcolm X as he appeared with his daughter on his return from a recent trip to Africa and the Middle East.

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church, Medgar Evers, Patrice Lumumba, the three civil rights workers in Mississippi, and, only three weeks ago, the President of Burundi (assassinated by U.S. government agents). The ruling class also uses violence in its internal power struggles. Dag Hammerskold and President Kennedy were killed in such struggles.

At the same time, the "man" downtown has been stepping up the frame-ups and jailings of new vigorous black leaders: Robert Williams, framed on a North Carolina kidnaping charge and forced into exile in Cuba; William Epton, Harlem PLM leader indicted for "criminal anarchy"; Milton Galamison, arrested for leading the school shutdown: Jesse Gray, Harlem rent strike leader, slandered, harassed and finally arrested on a trumped-up assault charge; Selma Sparks, CHALLENGE reporter, arrested just last week because of her sympathies with the school shutdown movement; Herbert Callender, militant CORE leader, arrested for pointing the finger at liberal-racist Mayor Wagner; Bill McAdoo and David Douglas, leaders of the Harlem Defense Council, indicted for "contempt" of the grand jury; and now Conrad Lynn, militant attorney, just summoned before the same racist grand jury.

One could go on and on, citing similar incidents in city after city. The growth of new black leaders demonstrates the growing revolutionary vigor of the black masses; demonstrates their unquenchable thirst for freedom which cannot be denied by any force on earth.

Coupled with these attacks on new militant black leaders is the systematic terror and plunder of the black communities. Not an hour goes by in Harlem without the beating or jailing of innocent black workers. Parasite landlords pile up profits, as children are poisoned by rat bites and sickened by cold air racing into decaying buildings. Black workers, when able to get jobs, are paid the lowest wages possible. New York City's garment market is one huge plantation. Tens of thousands are on relief, receiving the barest hand-outs to keep them alive. The slightest complaints from welfare recipients provokes instant withdrawal of "aid."

These are some of the things that Malcolm opposed. But Malcolm didn't merely oppose all "bad things." He exposed the root cause of the oppression of the black people. He exposed the Big Business police state machine and all its political stooges from the President down. Malcolm saw and exposed the relationship between the oppression of the black people at home to the subjugation of colored people all over the world. He exposed the common oppressor—U.S. imperialism. He saw it as one united fight for freedom. With this vision of global unity of all oppressed people in alliance with countries like China, Cuba, Algeria, who had defeated U.S. rulers, the black masses were not alone. In fact, they were in the majority, and together could defeat the common oppressor.

This perspective gave hope and confidence to the black workers. It gave dignity to the black masses' struggle by examples of victory elsewhere. Above all, it struck fear in the minds of the white rulers. Malcolm's vision and his developing ideas of strategy and tactics based on not turning the other cheek, but in fact on armed self-defense, and independent political action made possible the building of a new dynamic mass movement of black workers This was in direct opposition to the line

(Continued) → →

of the "uncle toms" and other sell-out artists, who covered up the most vicious crimes possible by U.S. rulers against oppressed people at home and abroad.

This then is why Malcolm was slain on orders by the white rulers, by the Tshombes among the black people in the U.S. Those who killed Malcolm, and who prey on other black militants, play the white bosses' game. And in time will be dealt with by the people.

The white rulers have developed an insidious plan of infiltrating black groups with police agents. These finks utilize divisions among our groups to disrupt and to create diversions. They would have us fight one another rather than "the man." Malcolm's murder is being used by the power structure to flood Harlem with more police, and to start the summer terror in the spring. The white bosses use their press to create mass fear and hostility against black leaders. They carried on a relentless campaign against Malcolm. They use this campaign to stir up all sections of the white people against the black community. They want to spread fear in the minds of white workers and radicals who want to ally themselves with, and follow the lead of, a black revolutionary movement.

In addition to concealed police agents the ruling class uses a U.S. version of the African Tshombe. These "wolves in sheeps clothing" are often hard to detect. But, if the black people use Malcolm's murder as a rallying point for united action for independent political power, unity with all people who oppose U.S. imperialism, armed self-defense, a fight for jobs, decent housing, quality education, and adequate wages, then these false prophets will fully expose themselves to the masses.

Even though he was still only forming many of his long-range views, Malcolm spoke for, and represented to a great degree, the aspirations of millions of black people. If we organise a united powerful movement to secure these goals his death will not have been in vain. Such a movement will be a testament to his vision, and to the courage of the black people in whom he had great confidence.

Let the white rulers not rejoice. We will learn the lessons of Malcolm's murder. We will learn to protect our leaders. The best protection is a mass movement of working people, ready to defend themselves and to fight back.

Most important we will conceive of the measures necessary to sweep away the worst political system on earth, a system that reeks of misery and death. In its place we will build a new society based on people's power which will be able to satisfy all the aspirations of the people. A society that will create abundance, and give birth to Malcolms by the hundreds.

'DAILY NOOSE' AND FARMER HANG TOGETHER

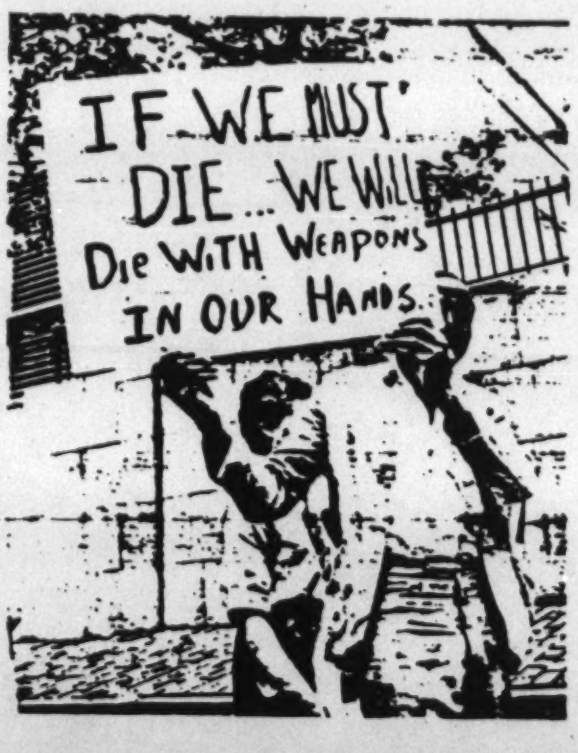
True to its record of lies, the Daily News last week concocted a wild tale claiming that Robert Williams and other militant black leaders were behind both Malcolm's murder and the burning of Muslim Mosque No. 7. Only the week before the News had fabricated almost exactly the same fiction about the alleged bomb plot (see story p. 2).

The News is the spokesman for the cops, the slumlords and the bosses of this City, so it is hardly surprising that it should try to create a red-baiting hysteria to divert people from the real terrorists —the same cops, slumlords and bosses.

But this time, the News had an accomplice—none other than James Farmer, Mayor Wagner's favorite civil rights "leader."

Farmer, who was just a guest of the international Uncle Tom Tshombe, and who has said nothing at all about the brutal attacks against Negro school children by N.Y. police, suddenly had a vision. In this vision, he saw a red "foreign plot" behind Malcolm's murder.

Why didn't Farmer reveal his "inside information" the week before when Malcolm's home was bombed? But, of course, then Malcolm might have answered the lie.



HARLEM PROGRESSIVE LABOR CLUB
336 Lenox Avenue
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"THE VOICE OF TRUTH"

- THE BLACK PEOPLE ARE NOT DECEIVED.
- THE MUSLEMS (Scape Goats) BEAR NO BLAME FROM US!
- WHITE POWER MADMEN YOUR MASKS ARE SLIPPING
- "LINCOLN" YOU HAVE PLAYED THE PART OF THE "FOOL."

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Program of memorial cultural tribute to Malcolm X at Rockland Palace, NYC, 5/19/65. by OAAU

1 6/22/65 [redacted]

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JUN 1 1 1965
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#43

PRESIDENT of the O.A.A.U. MRS. ELLA COLLINS DECLARES MAY 19th MALCOLM X DAY THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

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"I dream that one day history will look upon me as one of the voices that helped to save my country from a catastrophe."

A Memorial Cultural Tribute
ROCKLAND PALACE
155th Street & 8th Ave. N.Y.C.
WEDNESDAY, MAY 19, 1965 — 8 P.M. - MIDNIGHT

MAY 19 1965

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY
HOTEL THEREsA - 125th ST. & 7th AVE.
NEW YORK CITY

9:15 P.M.

PROGRAM

Master of Ceremonies	Dennis Brogdon
Mistress of Ceremonies	Selma Sparks
James Shabazz	Minister, Muslim Mosque, Inc.
Louise Jeffers & Gaddy Singers	Folksinger, guitarist
Sidi-Ali	Poet
Joe Wilson	Folksinger, guitarist
Bill Epton	Vice President, Progressive Labor Party
Leontyne Watts	"Penthouse Primitive "Singer
Mrs. Ella Collins	President of the Organization of Afro-American Unity

INTERMISSION

Jimmy Randolph	Singer-actor
LeRoi Jones	Poet-playwrite
Jesse Gray	Community Council on Housing
Bobby Dean Hooker	Actor-singer
Lewis Brown Quartet	"A Musical Tribute"
Mae Mallory	Harlem Unemployment Center
Nadi Qamar	Pianist-composer
Mary Kochiyama	Harlem Housewife
Juanita Bethea	Actress
Lorna Hodges African Dance Group	Performers at the World's Fair
Kenny Durham	On Trumpet
Delores Taylor	Singer

MALCOLM X DAY****** MAY 19, 1965******

FD-340 (REV. 8-7-62)

Serial 6394

NY File No. NY 105-8999-1824 (7)

Date Received 6/3/65 [redacted] b7c

From Newark Office
(NAME OF CONTRIBUTOR)

Memo dated 6/2/65
(ADDRESS OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(CITY AND STATE)

By [redacted] b7c
(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)

To Be Returned Yes ☐
No ☑

Description:

1 Negative
6 Photographs of [redacted] (NY)
from NOI Newark, N.J.

b7c

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/3/93 BY 9807 [redacted] b7c

(1)
7/8/65
[redacted]

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
1 1965
FBI - NEW YORK [redacted] b7c

FD-340 (REV. 8-17-62)

Serial 6394

File No. NY-105-8999-184 (8) b7c [redacted]

Date Received 6/3/65

From Newark Office of Naval Intel
(NAME OF CONTRIBUTOR)

6/3/65
(ADDRESS OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(CITY AND STATE)

By [redacted] b7c
(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)

To Be Returned Yes ☐ No ☑

Description:
1 - Negative & 4 photographs
J [redacted] (NO) b7c

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/3/93 BY 9803 [redacted] b7c

① 7/2/65 [redacted] b7c

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
1 1965
FBI - NEW YORK [redacted] b7c

[redacted]

[redacted]

FD-340 (REV. 8-17-62)

See Serial 6394

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/3/93 BY [redacted]

NY File No. 105-8999-184 [redacted] b7C

Date Received 6/3/65

From Newark Office
(NAME OF CONTRIBUTOR)

Memo dated 6/2/65
(ADDRESS OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(CITY AND STATE)

By [redacted] b7C
(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)

To Be Returned Yes ☐ No ☑

Description:

1- Negative

(2)- Photographs of [redacted] former Restaurant, NOI Muslim Mosque, Patron N.J. aka Malcolm X was killed on 2/21/65 at NYC.

b7C

7/8/65 [redacted] [redacted]

b7C

FD-340 (REV. 8-17-62)

See Ser. 6414

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/3/93 BY 9913 [redacted] b7C

NY (10)

File No. 125-8999-184

Date Received 7/19/65 [redacted] b7C

From Newark
(NAME OF CONTRIBUTOR)

Memo - 7/16/65
(ADDRESS OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(CITY AND STATE)

By [redacted] b7C
(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)

To Be Returned Yes ☐
No ☑

Description: 1 photo of [redacted] b7C
with neg.

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
JUL 1 3 1965
FBI — NEW YORK

(1)
9/1/65
[redacted]
9/10
b7C

FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT MALCOLM X LITTLE

FILE NO. NY 105-8999

1B5 ENCLOSURE

Duplicate Green Sheet

NY 105-8999-1B5

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/7/93 BY 9803 [redacted]
235,295

b7c

Bulky Exhibit - Inventory of Proper \cquired as Evidence
FD-192 (Rev. 11-18-64)

Date 12/3/65

☐ *Check, when submitting semiannual inventory, if no previous correspondence with Bureau.*

Bufile	Status of Case	Submitting Office	File #
100-399321	C	NY	105-8999-1B5
		Office of Origin: NY	File #: 105-8999

Title and Character of Case

MALCOLM K. LITTLE aka
IS-MMI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 9/7/93 BY 9840 [redacted] b7C
235,295

Date Property Acquired	Source From Which Property Acquired
SEE BELOW	SEE INDIVIDUAL 1B'S

Location of Property or Bulky Exhibit	Reason for Retention of Property and Efforts Made to Dispose of Same
VAULT	EVIDENCE & INFORMATION-RETAIN

Description of Property or Exhibit and Identity of Agent Submitting Same

SEE BELOW

(1) 12/3/65. One leaflet captioned "Why Haven't Brother Malcolm's Accused Killers Been Brought To Trial?" Rec'd [redacted] by SA [redacted] See ser. 6448. b7D b7C

(2) 1/7/66. One leaflet captioned "Trial For the Murder of Brother Malcolm X" Dec. 6, 1965. Rec'd [redacted] by SA [redacted] b7D b7C

(3) 1/26/66. 22 pgs. [redacted] Rec'd 5/65 by SA [redacted] b7D b7C

(4) 2/23/66. [redacted] Rec'd 3/65 by SA [redacted] See ser 6199. b7D b7C

(5) 3/1/66. Advertisement Re: Commemoration Day Solemn March in honor of Malcolm X on 2/20/66. Rec'd [redacted] by SAS [redacted] b7D b7C

(6) " Handbill for March in honor of Malcolm X on 2/20/66. Rec'd [redacted] by SA [redacted] b7D b7C

(7) 3/11/66. Handout for a Memorial to Malcolm X on 2/21/66.
(8) " "Resolution" by National Malcolm X Day Committee.
Note: 1B5(7) and 1B5(8) rec'd [redacted] by SA [redacted] b7D b7C

1B5 #43 6/23/86 [redacted] b7C

SEMIANNUAL INVENTORY CERTIFICATION TO JUSTIFY RETENTION OF PROPERTY (Initial and date)

SEARCHED [redacted] INDEXED [redacted]
SERIALIZED [redacted] FILED [redacted]
DEC 3 1965
FBI—NEW YORK [redacted]

b7C

FD-340 (REV.8-17-62)

~~Standard Return~~

See pu 6448

File No. NY 105-8999-185 (1) b7C

Date Received [redacted] b2 b7D

From [redacted]
(NAME OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(ADDRESS OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(CITY AND STATE)

By [redacted] b7C
(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)

To Be Returned Yes ☐
No ☒

Description:

1 LEAFLET captioned "Why Haven't Brother Malcolm's Accused Killers been brought To Trial?" obtained by b7D [redacted] Source [redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED b7C
DATE 9/7/93 BY [redacted]

(1) 12/3/65 [redacted] b7C

[redacted] b7C

WHY HAVEN'T

Brother Malcolm's Accused Killers been brought to trial ?

BROTHER MALCOLM WAS KILLED NINE MONTHS AGO BEFORE A CROWD OF SEVERAL HUNDRED PEOPLE AND THE NEW YORK CITY UNDERCOVER POLICE— YET THE DISTRICT ATTORNEY AND THE NEW YORK CITY POLICE DEPARTMENT, AFTER QUESTIONING HUNDREDS OF WITNESSES AND GOT AN INDICTMENT OF THE ACCUSED FROM THE GRAND JURY, STILL HAVE NOT SET A DATE FOR TRIAL.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 9/7/93 BY 9803 [redacted] b7C

WE THE BLACK PEOPLE OF HARLEM — OF THE WORLD

Demand that whoever killed Brother Malcolm be prosecuted Now!

BROTHERS AND SISTERS How long are we black people going to allow our black men to be shot down in cold blood without a word from us?

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE THIS SLIP FROM EXHIBIT
NY105-8999 185(1)

Malcolm X Inquiry Committee [redacted]
POST OFFICE BOX 63
QUEENS VILLAGE STATION
NEW YORK 11429

b7C b7D

FD-340 (REV. 8-17-62)

(1)

1/7/66 b7C [redacted]

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
DEC 15 1965
FBI-NEW YORK

[redacted] b7C

NY 105-8989-1B5 (2)

File No.

b2
b7D

Date Received [redacted]

From [redacted] b7C
(NAME OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(ADDRESS OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(CITY AND STATE) b7C

By [redacted]
(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)

To Be Returned Yes ☐
No ☒

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/7/93 BY [redacted] b7C

Description:

1 LEAFLET captioned "TRIAL FOR THE MURDER OF BROTHER MALCOLM X, Monday, Dec. 6, 1965" Such LEAFLET distributed at the TRUTH RESTAURANT on 12/9/65.

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
THIS SLIP FROM EXHIBIT
NY105-8991-1B5(2)

TRIAL

FOR THE MURDER OF BROTHER

MALCOLM X

MONDAY
DEC. 6, 1965
10:A.M.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/7/93 BY [redacted]
b7c

CRIMINAL TERM
SUPREME COURT
100 CENTRE STREET

BE THERE!

b7c [redacted]

FD-340 (REV. 8-17-62)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/7/93 BY 9863 [redacted] b7C
all contents enclosed in manila envelope are also unclassified

File No. NY 105-8999-1B5(3)

Date Received 8 May 1945 [redacted] b7C

From [redacted] b7D
(NAME OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(ADDRESS OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(CITY AND STATE)

By [redacted] b7C
(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)

To Be Returned Yes ☐ No ☒

Description:
22 negatives [redacted] b7D

105-8999-1B-

(1)
1/24/66

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
JAN 7 - 1966
FBI — NEW YORK

[redacted] b7C b7C

4-750 (Rev. 12-14-88)

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

22 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

☒ Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available for release to you.

Section 552		Section 552a
☐ (b)(1)	☐ (b)(7)(A)	☐ (d)(5)
☐ (b)(2)	☐ (b)(7)(B)	☐ (j)(2)
☐ (b)(3)	☒ (b)(7)(C)	☐ (k)(1)
_____	☒ (b)(7)(D)	☐ (k)(2)
_____	☐ (b)(7)(E)	☐ (k)(3)
_____	☐ (b)(7)(F)	☐ (k)(4)
☐ (b)(4)	☐ (b)(8)	☐ (k)(5)
☐ (b)(5)	☐ (b)(9)	☐ (k)(6)
☐ (b)(6)		☐ (k)(7)

☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

_____ Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): _____

☒ For your information: Enclosure are the negatives of photographs withheld in 100-399821-419 EBF.

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:
NY 105-8999-1B5(3) enclosures

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

See serial 6199

Enter and return

File Number NY-105-1999-B 5(V) [redacted] b7C

Date Received 3/65

From Phila. OFFICE

(name & address of contributor) b7C

By-(name of SA) [redacted] #43

To be returned - Yes ( ) No (X) [redacted]

Description: [redacted]

b7D
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/7/93 BY 8803 [redacted] b7C

(1)
2/21/66
[redacted]
b7C

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
MAY 20 1965
FBI — NEW YORK
[redacted]
b7C

b7C

Index & Return

FD-340 (REV.0-17-62)

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
FEB 17 1966
FBI — NEW YORK

b7C

(1)

3/1/66

(5)

File No. NY 105-8999-185

b7C

Date Received

From

b2
b7D

(NAME OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(ADDRESS OF CONTRIBUTOR)

b7C

By

(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)

To Be Returned Yes ☐
No ☑

Description:

advertisement re
Commemoration Day
Solemn March in honor of
Malcolm X on 2/20/66

steps: make ec's for
sponsoring groups

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/7/93 BY

b7C

PLEASE DC NOT RTIOVE
THIS SLIP FRXI EXHIBIT
NY 105-8999-185 (5)

COMMEMORATION DAY

SOLEMN MARCH

IN HONOR OF

MALCOLM X

(EL HAJI MALIK EL SHABAZZ)

"THE PRINCE OF OUR BLACK CAPTIVE NON-SELF GOVERNING PEOPLE."

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINE[redacted]
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/7/93 BY[redacted]
b7C

FEB. 20TH
10 AM.

EL HAJI MALIK EL SHABAZZ

Participating Organizations
Will Mobilize At

110TH ST.
COR. LENOX AVE.
HARLEM, NEW YORK

SPONSORED BY:

N.A.A.C.P.
Yoruba Temple
Harlem Unemployment Council
C.O.R.E.
Organization of Afro-American Unity
Pomusicart
LIBERATOR Magazine
Community Action Team
20th Century Art Creators
Urban League
Moorish Science Temple
National Memorial Bookstore
Negro Labor Committee
SNCC
Community Council on Housing
HARYOU-ACT
Awareness
Frederick Douglass Bookstore
Negro Action Group
Harlem Defense Council
United African Nationalists Movements
Richardson Bookstore
Black Arts
Concerned Mothers
World Federation of African People, Inc.

LAYOUT/ART SCOTT ... AWARENESS ADVERTISING

FD-340 (REV.8-17-62)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/7/93 BY [redacted] b7C

(6)

File No. NY 105-8999-1B5 b7C

Date Received [redacted] b7C

From [redacted] b7D
(NAME OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(ADDRESS OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(CITY AND STATE)

By [redacted] b7C

To Be Returned Yes ☐ No ☑

Description:

Handout for March in honor of Malcolm X, 2/20/66.

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
FEB 24 1968
FBI — NEW YORK

① 3/1/66 [redacted] b7C

[redacted] b7C

See ser 6502

FD-340 (REV. 8-17-62)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED 67C
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/7/93 BY 9803 [redacted]

File No. NY 105-8999-1B5(7)

Date Received [redacted]

From [redacted] 67C b2 67D
(NAME OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(ADDRESS OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(CITY AND STATE) 67C

By [redacted]
(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)

To Be Returned Yes ☐
No ☑

Description:

Handout for a Memorial to Malcolm X on 2/21/66

(1)
3/11/66

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
MAR 3 - 1966
FBI — NEW YORK

[redacted] 67C [redacted] 67C

3/9

MEMORIAL TO MALCOLM X

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE THIS SLIP FROM EXHIBIT
NY-105-1657

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 9/7/93 BY 98[redacted]

67C

MONDAY FEB. 21, 1966 at 7:30 P.M.

P.S. 175 AUDITORIUM – 178 W. 135 ST. N.Y.C.

BETWEEN LENOX & SEVENTH – BEHIND YMCA

COME HEAR OSSIE DAVIS AND OTHER !!!!

admission FREE!!

FD-340 (REV. 8-17-62)

File No. NY 105-8999-1B5(8)

Date Received [redacted] b7C

From [redacted] b2 b7D
(NAME OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(ADDRESS OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(CITY AND STATE) b7C

By [redacted]
(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)

To Be Returned Yes ☐
No ☑

Description:

"Revolution" by National Mobilization x Day Committee

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
MAR 3 - 1968
FBI — NEW YORK

(1)
3/11/66

[redacted] b7C

3/9

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/7/93 BY 9803 [redacted]

NATIONAL MALCOLM X DAY COMMITTEE

270 WEST 123rd STREET Tele: 749 8877 HARLEM, N.Y. 10027

RESOLUTION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 9/7/93 BY 980 [redacted] b7c

WHEREAS: We Commemorate the first anniversary of the death of the Honorable El Hajji Malik El Shabazz, our Black shining Prince, a crusader and dynamic warrior. To him we dedicate this day "Malcolm X." Another Black man, who dared to inject truth into the meaning of supreme sacrifice.

THEREFORE: His life must now symbolize our highest aspirations, a united determination, and a true nationhood.

WHEREAS: Malcolm X fought for unity, we as a people come alive do hereby feel pride in having known him for we have shared the same epoch. This indeed is a privilege and an honor.

WHEREAS: We are now assembled outside of the Audubon Ballroom, the very ballroom where the echo of Malcolm X's philosophy still resides, having been made sacred by his blood, We, his people, have been denied the right to assemble peacefully within its halls to pay homage with dignity and pride, and to honor and respect his sacred memory.

BE IT RESOLVED: That we the sponsoring committee of the Malcolm X Commemorations Day Solemn March do hereby call upon all Black people throughout the Harlem Community to instantly and effectively clamp a permanent "Boycott" against the Audubon Ballroom, where Malcolm's blood was wantonly spilled.....

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That we dedicate this 3rd Sunday in the month of February as the National Commemoration Day for our brother Malcolm X. Let us call upon all African-Americans throughout the country, to utilize this day as a positive force, geared toward the fulfillment of Malcolm X's work.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That we teach our children so that they may teach their children, to teach their children's children the true meaning of the life and death of Malcolm X.

THEREFORE: Let us rise up with one aim under the universal creation, one glorious destiny wherein we must strive until we are undisputably free of the white man's yoke.

Let us press on in the spirit of Malcolm X. Let us do it with courage, determination, perseverance and a fierce race pride. Let us hurl our fiery Resolutions into the hearts and minds of our sworn enemies until he can no longer withstand our righteousness, nor the might of the majesty of our divine cause. Again I say "Arise" you mighty Black Captive Non-Self Governing Nation, because you can move mountains if you dare.

THEREFORE: Let our determination be symbolic in the mystical colors of red, black, green and gold.

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
THIS SLIP FROM EXHIBIT
NY-105-8979 - 185(11)

4-750 (Rev. 12-14-88)

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

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Section 552		Section 552a
☐ (b)(1)	☐ (b)(7)(A)	☐ (d)(5)
☐ (b)(2)	☐ (b)(7)(B)	☐ (j)(2)
☐ (b)(3)	☒ (b)(7)(C)	☐ (k)(1)
	☒ (b)(7)(D)	☐ (k)(2)
	☐ (b)(7)(E)	☐ (k)(3)
	☐ (b)(7)(F)	☐ (k)(4)
☐ (b)(4)	☐ (b)(8)	☐ (k)(5)
☐ (b)(5)	☐ (b)(9)	☐ (k)(6)
☐ (b)(6)		☐ (k)(7)

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☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

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_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): _____

☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

NY 105-8999-1B5(8) enclosure

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

FBI/DOJ

FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT MALCOLM X LITTLE

FILE NO. NY 105-8999

1B6 ENCLOSURE

Duplicate Green Sheet

NY 105-8999-1B6

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/7/93 BY 9803 [redacted]
235,295 b7C

Bulky Exhibit - Inventory of Prope Acquired as Evidence
FD-192 (Rev. 10-6-65)

Date 5/17/66

Title and Character of Case

MALCOLM K. LITTLE aka
IS-NNI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/7/93 BY [redacted] b7C
235,245

Date Property Acquired	Source From Which Property Acquired
SEE BELOW	SEE INDIVIDUAL 1B'S

Location of Property or Bulky Exhibit	Reason for Retention of Property and Efforts Made to Dispose of Same
VAULT	EVIDENCE AND INFORMATION-RETAIN

Description of Property or Exhibit and Identity of Agent Submitting Same

SEE BELOW

(1) 5/17/66. 1 Leaflet listing Malcolm X Day, 5/19/66, indicating events and partial list of sponsors. Rec'd [redacted] by SA [redacted] b7D b7C b7C

(2) 6/9/66. 1 leaflet listing "Memorial Tribute to Malcolm X, 5/19/66" Rec'd [redacted] by SA [redacted] b7D b7C

(3) " 1 leaflet listing Malcolm X Day, 5/19/66. Rec'd [redacted] by SA [redacted] b7D b7C

(4) " Leaflet containing list of speakers at Malcolm X Memorial, Hotel Theresa, NYC, 5/19/66. Rec'd [redacted] by SA [redacted] b7D b7C b7C

(5) 4/6/67. Flyer re. March and commemoration for the late Malcolm X to be held 2/22/67. Begins in front of the Audubon Ballroom. Rec'd [redacted] by SA [redacted] b7C b7D b7C

(6) 4/14/67. Flyer re a musical evening with the George Whitney Jazz Workshop in the form of a tribute to Malcolm X, on 2/22/67. Rec'd [redacted] by SA [redacted] b7C b7D b7C

SEMIANNUAL INVENTORY CERTIFICATION TO JUSTIFY RETENTION OF PROPERTY (Initial and Date)

06/23/86 [redacted] b7C

SEARCHED [redacted] INDEXED [redacted]
SERIALIZED [redacted] FILED [redacted]
MAY 17 1966
FBI - NEW YORK
[redacted] b7C

Field File # NY-105-3999-136
#43

202

FD-340 (REV. 6-24-62)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/7/93 BY [redacted] b7C

File No. NY105-8999-1B6(1) b7C

Date Received [redacted] b2

From [redacted] b7D
(NAME OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(ADDRESS OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(CITY AND STATE)

By [redacted] b7C
(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)

To Be Returned ☐ Yes ☒ No Receipt given ☐ Yes ☒ No

Description:

1 Leaflet Listing
Malcolm X Day,
5/19/68, indicating events
and partial list of sponsors

b7C [redacted]

5/17/68

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
MAY 12 1968
FBI — NEW YORK

[redacted] b7C

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
THIS SLIP FROM EXHIBIT
NY.Ks 9999-106(.)

MALCOLM X DAY

MAY 19, 1925-FEB. 21, 1966

MAY 19, 1966

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/7/93 BY [redacted]
67C

PILGRIMAGE TO FERNCLIFF CEMETERY

Leaving from: Hotel Theresa-2090 7th Ave., N.Y.C.-11 A.M.

(Donate your car to aid transportation to cemetery)

MEMORIAL TRIBUTE TO MALCOLM X

AT THE

SKYLINE BALLROOM — **HOTEL THERESA**

THURSDAY, MAY 19, 1966 — **8 P.M.**

Contribution-$2.00

ENTERTAINMENT — SPEAKERS
YOUTH PROGRAM — 4-6 P.M.
ART SHOW — DINNER SERVED

AFRICAN DIPLOMATS INVITED

PARTIAL LIST OF SPONSORS:

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY, INC., MRS. ELLA COLLINS, PRESIDENT
A.W.O.A., MISS RASHEDA ABUBAKAR, (PRESIDENT, N.Y. CHAPTER)
HARLEM UNEMPLOYMENT CENTER
HARRIET TUBMAN ASSOCIATION
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JOINT ORGANIZATIONS MOBILIZED FOR ACTION
NEW YORK CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
PAN AFRICAN STUDENTS ORGANIZATION OF THE AMERICAS
HARLEM PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

MALCOLM X
(EL HAJJ MALIK EL SHABAZZ)

ODE TO A CRUCIFIXION

AHH, LET ME SLEEP PERCHANCE
TO DREAM,
FOR DREAMS ARE WHAT MEN
ARE MADE OF.
WHILE IN THIS WORLD OF CONSCIOUSNESS
FEW MEN KNEW THOUGHTS OF LOVE.

MAN DREAMS OF WORLDS TO CONQUER
AND THEY FORM A REAL GRAND PLAN
THEN BLAST THEIR PLANS ASUNDER
TO REMAIN AN "ALSO-RAN".

WHAT USE TO FOLLOW LEADERS ?
WHY PLAN TO FORGE AHEAD ?
WHEN CAUSED BY SOMEONES PLUNDER
A MAN CAN BUY YOU DEAD!..

— — — — — — — — —

...BUT, STILL DO DREAM, DO WALK AHEAD,
DO STRIVE TO REGAIN YOUR THRONE...
AND WHEN YOU LIVE "UJAMAA"
YOU WILL NOT WALK ALONE.

DO THINK, DO DREAM, DO MOVE AHEAD
LET YOUR HERITAGE SHINE AGAIN,
AND WHEN YOU STRIKE, THATS IF YOU STRIKE
...MAKE SURE IT'S NOT A FRIEND!!

(C)COPYRIGHT 1966 SAN MUHAR

"Brothers and sisters," Malcolm had
said;
In the next few seconds, he lay dead.
"We have killed him," his enemies cried,
But their hearts knew that they had lied.

Our oppressors now think
That all is right and well.
But the ghost of Malcolm
Is like a demon from Hell.

Up from the slime he rose like fire;
His heart aflamed with a strong desire
To see the BLACK man, woman and child,
Stand up free, tall and proud.

All through Africa he put forth his hand,
Our brothers reached out across the land,
UNITY! UNITY! was his resounding cry
These words I know shall never die.
But life without freedom is death;
And he dwelled in death until he cried.

And he who has never really lived,
Swiftly and suddenly died.

His wife had a warning about that day,
But lion brave he could not stay.
Desire in his heart, he took no heed;
And the hands of death took back its deed.
His soul like fire jumped and burned,
Climbing higher....higher! Infinitely
high;
Reaching forth majestically
Towards the glow of freedom's sky.
But it is a sorrow and a shame,
That a world so lovely and so strange,
Could hold the evils both far and near
Which fills the world with foolish fear.
Some men he made angry,
His voice they tried to ban,
But when they measured Malcolm,
They really measured a MAN...

By James Henderson

~~Entertainer~~!

b7C [redacted]

FD-340 (REV. 6-24-62)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/7/93 BY 9970 [redacted] b7C

File No. NY 105-8999-1B6(2) b7C

Date Received [redacted]

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(CITY AND STATE) [redacted] b7C

By [redacted]
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To Be Returned ☐ Yes ☒ No

Receipt given ☐ Yes ~~☐ No~~

Description:

1 Leaflet Listing
Memorial Tribute To
Malcolm X, 5/19/66

(1)
6/9/66
[redacted] b7C

SEARCHED ____ INDEX
SERIALIZED ____ FILED
JUN 6 1966
FBI — NEW YORK

[redacted] b7C

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THIS SLIP FROM EXHIBIT
NY 100-444186(2)

MEMORIAL TRIBUTE TO MALCOLM X

AT THE

SKYLINE BALLROOM — HOTEL THERESA

THURSDAY, MAY 19, 1966 — 8 P.M.

*(Speakers to have ten minutes each)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/7/83 BY [redacted]

b7C

1. Introduction of Master of Ceremonies - Louise Jeffers
2. Master of Ceremonies - Attorney Cobb
3. Bill Epton - Harlem Progressive Labor Party Chairman
4. John Davis, singer
5. Robert Anderson, poet
6. Jim Haughton, Harlem Unemployment Center, Chairman
7. Louise Jeffers, folk singer and composer
8. Mrs. Loretta Langley, attended Dakar Festival in Senegal
9. Kay Combo, poetess, Afro-American Institute
10. Roy Ennis, President, New York C.O.R.E.
11. Mrs. Audley Moore, President, Harriet Tubman Association
12. Mr. Boniface Odero, President, Pan-African Students Association of the Americas, Inc.
13. Mrs. Ella Collins - President, O.A.A.U.
14. Osen Jamen Adefumi
15. Yoruba Temple Dancers - (1 1/2 Hours)

10 Minute Intermission

16. Max Roach and Abbey Lincoln
17. Willie Koselsile - South Africa
18. O. A. A. U. Singers

b7C [redacted]

4-750 (Rev. 12-14-88)

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MAY 19 1966
FBI — NEW YORK

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File No. NY 105-8999-1B 6(3)

Date Received [redacted] 62 67D

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(CITY AND STATE) [redacted] 67C

By: [redacted]
(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)

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Description:

1 Leaflet Listing
Malcolm X Day
May 19, 1966

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/7/93 BY [redacted] 67C

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JUN 6 1966
FBI — NEW YORK

① 6/9/66 [redacted] 67C

[redacted] 67C

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NY 105. [illegible] 1B6(3)

MALCOLM X DAY

MAY 19, 1925-FEB. 21, 1966

MAY 19, 1966

PILGRIMAGE TO FERNCLIFF CEMETERY

Leaving from: Hotel Theresa-2090 7th Ave., N.Y.C.-11 A.M.

(Donate your car to aid transportation to cemetery)

MEMORIAL TRIBUTE TO MALCOLM X

AT THE

SKYLINE BALLROOM **HOTEL THERESA**

THURSDAY, MAY 19, 1966 **8 P.M.**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 9/7/93 BY [redacted] b7C

Contribution-$2.00

ENTERTAINMENT — SPEAKERS

YOUTH PROGRAM — 4-6 P.M.

ART SHOW — DINNER SERVED b7C

AFRICAN DIPLOMATS INVITED [redacted]

PARTIAL LIST OF SPONSORS: [redacted]

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY, INC., MRS. ELLA COLLINS, PRESIDENT
A.W.O.A., MISS RASHEDA ABUBAKAR, (PRESIDENT, N.Y. CHAPTER)
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Some men he made angry,
His voice they tried to ban,
But when they measured Malcolm,
They really measured a MAN...

By James Henderson

b7C

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 9/7/93 BY 9803 [redacted] b7C

1B6(4)

File No. NY 105-8999-~~1A~~ [redacted]

Date Received [redacted] b2 b7C

From [redacted] b7D

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(CITY AND STATE)

By [redacted] b7C

(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)

To Be Returned Yes ☐ No ☑

Description: Leaflet containing list of speakers at Malcolm X Memorial, Hotel Theresa, NYC, 5/19/66

① 6/9/66 [redacted] b7C

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JUN 6 1966
FBI — NEW YORK [redacted] b7C

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NY 105-1199 186(V)

MEMORIAL TRIBUTE TO MALCOLM X

AT THE

SKYLINE BALLROOM — HOTEL THERESA

THURSDAY, MAY 19, 1966 — 8 P.M.

*(Speakers to have ten minutes each)

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DATE 9/7/93 BY [redacted] b7c

1. Introduction of Master of Ceremonies - Louise Jeffers
2. ~~Master of Ceremonies - Attorney Cobb~~
3. Bill Epton - Harlem Progressive Labor Party Chairman
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12. Mr. Boniface Odero, President, Pan-African Students Association of the Americas, Inc.
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15. Yoruba Temple Dancers - (1 1/2 Hours)

10 Minute Intermission

16. Max Roach and Abbey Lincoln
17. Willie Koselsile - South Africa
18. O. A. A. U. Singers

b7c b7D
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FD-340 (REV. 6-24-65)

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FEB 27 1967
FBI — NEW YORK

4/6/67 [redacted] b7C

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Description:

Flyer: Re
march & commemoration
for the Late Malcolm
X; held 2/22/67;
starting point was
the Audubon Ballroom.

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DATE 9/7/93 BY [redacted] b7C

MALCOLM X DAY

MARCH and COMMEMORATION

SCHEDULE OF EVENTS

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NY 105-29998 (186)

12 NOON MARCH begins in front of the Audubon Ballroom
ROUTE - 161st Street and Audubon Avenue - East on 161st Street to St. Nichols Ave. - South on St. Nichols Ave. to 145th Street - East on 145th St. to 7th Ave. - South on 7th Ave. to 125th St. - to Speakers Platform - 7th Avenue and 125th Street.

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DATE 9/7/93 BY [redacted]
b7C

The march will commence with an Arabic, Israeli and Yoruba Prayer and lead by Yoruba drummers and chanters.
The march will terminate with Arabic, Israeli and Yoruba calls to Prayer and salute to the Ancestors.

3:30 PM UNVEILING - A cement bust of El Hajii Malik El Shabazz, sculptured by Baba Oseijeman Adefunmi, will be dedicated to the world on the site of 125th Street and 7th Avenue, the center of the world's new genius..... Malcolm X Square, to be re-named though the dedication of our honorable Boro-President, Mr. Percy Sutton.

5:00 PM SPECIAL PROGRAM in honor of Malcolm X presented in the newly owned, Regun Theatre - 60 West 116th Street (nr. Lenox Avenue)
Presenting: Tapes of one of Malcolm's past speechs to guide our future, Special thanks to Mr. Paul Boutelle for providing the tape.

WED. FEB. 22nd 1967

'The Road Forward' as explained by The Harlem Peoples' Parliament and Harlem leaders.

"Slave Trade In The World Today will be the feature film which will round out this program. - A most interesting film to see again for those who have seen it, and an experience for those who haven't.

There will be special discount passes provided by the commemoration Day Committee and Awareness, that will provide admission to this special program at the donation price of 50¢.
Special thanks to Mr. Hodges, our 'soul brother' of the Regun for making available his theatre for this special occasion.

9PM-? MEMORIAL FESTIVAL - The Brooklyn Cultural Society - 10 Claver Place, Brooklyn, N.Y. - ('A' train to Franklin Ave. stop) - have opened their studio doors to provide a most social and delightful atmosphere for a most befitting termination for, "Our Day of Honor".

MAY THE SPIRIT OF MALCOLM LIVE FOR EVER, AND EVER INSPIRE

Special Thanks to all who have joined in Unity to make this day possible.

Malcolm X Day Coordinator,
Obafunmi Adefemi

ALAFIA
AS SALAAM WALAIKUM [redacted]

Grand Marshall,
Imadu Wachuku

b7C
b7D

~~Enter & return~~ [redacted] b7C

FD-340 (REV.8-17-62)

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MAR 1 1967
FBI — NEW YORK

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File No. NY 100-105-8999-1B6 (6)

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(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)

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Flyer regarding a musical evening with the George Whitney Jazz Workshop in the form of a tribute to Malcolm X Feb 22 1967 at 9:30 pm at 10 Lincoln Place Brooklyn, N.Y.

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NY 105-8972-186 (6)

A TRIBUTE TO MALCOLM X in MUSIC

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DATE 9/7/93 BY [redacted] b7C

Feb. 22ND.
9 30 P.M.

-TOGEATHERNESS-

In Musical SOUL AT STUDIO-O

All "SOUL" MUSICANS INVITED TO "SIT IN"
WITH THE - GEORGE WHITNEY JAZZ WORKSHOP

YOUR HOST - OBA ..... FREE !!!

10 CLAVER PL. B'KLYN.

A - train to Franklin Ave. 1 block over b7C

[redacted]

b7D